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BRITISH PERCEPTIONS OF SERBIA AND THE BALKANS 1903–1906

Slobodan G. Markovich

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NOTES ON THE TRANSLITERATION OF NAMES AND DATES

The Serbian Cyrillic alphabet was reformed by Vuk Stefanovich Karadjich (1787–1864) who was guided by the principle that each sound should be represented by its own symbol. This is why the Serbian language has thirty sounds and an equal number of letters.

Although the principle of the Serbian alphabet is rather simple, there are substantial problems in the transliteration of Serbian names into English. This comes as a consequence of the fact that different principles of transliteration have been used for Serbian names over time. Until the creation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918), the Serbs used various transliterations of their names for different Western languages.

This is why one can find the name of one of the frequently quoted persons in this book, Chedomille Miyatovich, transliterated in various ways. As Mijatovich or Miyatovich (English transliteration), but also Mijatovics (Hungarian transliteration), or Miyatovitch (French transliteration), Mijatowitsch (German translitaration) and Mijatović (Croatian transliteration). After the Great War the Serbs partially accepted that translitaration of their names into the Croatian form of the Latin alphabet was to be used persistently for all languages based on the Latin alphabet (i.e. Mijatović). This became the official practice after the World

War Two when the Serbs accepted the Croatian form of the Latin alphabet as the second official alphabet simultaneously with the traditional Cyrillic alphabet. After the creation of the third Yugoslavia, in 1992, Serbian names continued to be transliterated into the Croatian form of the Latin alphabet but without specific diacritic marks which often confuses readers, because a single word like Ćosić, transliterated as Cosic can now be read in eighteen different ways (as Cosic, Ćosic, Čosic, Cošic...). So our hero is now Mijatovic. This is all further complicated by the fact that some Serbian emigrants never accepted the Croatian transliteration and that there was no generally accepted transliteration of Serbian names in England during the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries.

I have decided to use in this work the transliteration proposed by Stevan K. Pavlowitch[1] with one exception. A difference has been made between 'dy' ('ђ' in Serbian Cyrillic) and 'dj' (' џ' in Serbian Cyrillic) two similarly pronounced sounds. It is, however, impossible to avoid confusion since Serbian names were transliterated into English differently in different periods. Since I mostly quote contemporary sources, which more or less used phonetic transliteration, I shall transliterate Serbian names using phonetic English transliteration. However, I shall make one exception regarding the names of modern Serbian historians who have used Croatian or recent Yugoslav transliteration for their works published in English. In this case I shall follow their own transliteration. In order to further facilitate reading of the book, I have added an index of all personal and geographic names at the end of the book with all Serbian names being spelled in various forms of transliteration.

1 Stevan K. Pavlowitch, *Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Serbia, 1837–1839: The Mission of Colonel Hodges* (Paris, The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1961).

The titles of works written in Serbian Cyrillic are given in footnotes simultaneously in the Serbian original and in English phonetic transliteration. A translation of the titles of the works is also provided at the end of the book, in the bibliography. Since most of the journals published in Serbo-Croatian have summaries either in English or French, translation is given as in those journals, sometimes in French and sometimes in English.

Geographic names are given in forms that were common in Britain in contemporary sources. For further clarification modern equivalents are added in the index at the end of the book.

Both Serbia and Bulgaria used the old calendar at the beginning of the twentieth century. However, all dates are given according to the new style. Only in cases when some date could cause confusion are both forms given (e.g. the May Coup happened in June according to the new style).

Serbian Cyrillic letters	TRANSLITERATIONS			
	Croatian	Recent Yugoslav	English phonetic	Guide to pronunciation
А	A	A	A	A, as ‘a’ in **A**msterdam
Б	B	B	B	B, as ‘b’ in **B**elgium
В	V	V	V	V, as ‘v’ in **V**ienna
Г	G	G	G	G, as ‘g’ in **G**ambia
Д	D	D	D	D, as ‘d’ in **D**enmark
Ђ	Đ	Dj	Dy	Dy, as ‘d y’ in would **y**ou, close to dj, but softer
Е	E	E	E	E, as ‘e’ in **E**sther
Ж	Ž	Z	Zh	Zh, as ‘s’ in lei**s**ure, or ‘j’ in French name **J**ean
З	Z	Z	Z	Z, as ‘z’ in **z**one
И	I	I	I	I, as ‘i’ in **I**ndia
Ј	J	J	Y	Y, as ‘y’ in **Y**ugoslavia
К	K	K	K	K, as ‘k’ in **K**ate
Л	L	L	L	L, as ‘l’ in **l**ove
Љ	Lj	Lj	Ly	Ly, as ‘l’ in the British pronunciation of ‘revo**l**ution’
М	M	M	M	M, as ‘m’ in **M**orocco
Н	N	N	N	N, as ‘n’ in **n**orth
Њ	Nj	Nj	Ny	Ny, as ‘n’ in **n**ew
О	O	O	O	O, as ‘o’ in **o**ld
П	P	P	P	P, as ‘p’ in **p**aper
Р	R	R	R	R, as ‘r’ in **r**adio
С	S	S	S	S, as ‘s’ in **S**amoa
Т	T	T	T	T, as ‘t’ in **T**ogo
Ћ	Ć	C	Ch	Ch, as ‘c’ in Italian pronunciation of ‘ciao,,’ similar to ‘ч‘, but softer
У	U	U	U	U, as ‘oo’ in **l**ook
Ф	F	F	F	F, as ‘f’ in **F**inland
Х	H	H	H	H, ad ‘h’ in **H**olland
Ц	C	C	Ts	Ts, like ts in ca**ts**
Ч	Č	C	Ch	Ch, as ‘ch’ in ‘**ch**erry’
Џ	Dž	Dz	Dj	Dj as ‘j’ in **J**ack
Ш	Š	S	Sh	Sh, as ‘sh’ in **sh**are

INTRODUCTION

This book deals with the image of the Serbian 'other' in Britain at the beginning of the twentieth century. 'The Balkans' in the title refer to independent Christian Balkan states since there can be no qualitative analysis of the British image of any single Balkan country without comparing it with the British image of other Balkan countries.

The period from 1903 to 1906 was very significant for the development of British perceptions of Serbia and the Balkans. As R. W. Seton-Watson pointed out: 'in 1903 the Macedonian insurrection on the one hand and the Serbian revolution on the other, ushered in a new era in the Balkan Peninsula'.[1] This new era began with the brutal murder of the Serbian Royal couple in June, 1903 (in May according to the old style) known as the May Coup. The Belgrade regicide and the subsequent rise to power of the regicides turned the image of Serbia in Britain into one of an 'oriental', non-civilised state. This image persisted during the crisis in Anglo-Serbian relations (1903–1906) and was shortly revived after the Sarajevo Assassination, in 1914. What is even more important is that this image as well as the negative image of Macedonia which developed in the same period, paved the way for what Maria Todorova recently baptised 'balkanism'.

1 R. W. Seton-Watson, *Britain in Europe 1789–1914. A Survey of Foreign Policy* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1938), p. 614.

The simultaneous uprising in Macedonia in August 1903 and the subsequent clashes between proponents of Bulgarian, Greek and Serbian national ideas led to terrible atrocities that Christians committed against other fellow Christians. Soon some British journalists drew parallels between Balkan 'bloody-mindedness' and 'centuries of Asiatic rule'. These events (the May Coup and the Macedonian Uprising) led to the creation of a negative image (which has recently been revived) of both Serbia and the Balkans. However, the image of the Balkans and Serbia in Britain was subject to many changes and it fluctuated between admiration and contempt. For this reason I have also undertaken an analysis of the image of Serbia as it developed during the nineteenth century (chapter one). My research is restricted to the image of the Serbian state. The image of the Serbs, especially those living under the Ottoman yoke, was somewhat different and I shall only occasionally refer to them. In chapter two I analyse images of Bulgaria and Macedonia and offer an introduction to the situation in Serbia on the eve of the May Coup. The period between 1903 and 1906 was not of such crucial importance for the shaping of the images of Greece and Montenegro. Therefore they are only occasionally mentioned. Chapter three deals with the perception of Serbia in the Foreign Office, and chapter four with the reaction of public opinion. In chapter four *The Times* and *The Westminster Gazette,* two leading London quality dailies have been analysed for this purpose. The main ideas of leading British opinion makers regarding Serbia and the Balkans are given in the same chapter. Chapter five analyses the causes of the British reaction, emphasising the relevance of the British value system. Polemics on the Balkan 'Orientalism' are analysed in the same chapter, which is followed by an analysis of the occidentalisation and re-orientalisation of Serbia and the Balkans. In the Conclusion the main issues, raised

in other works dealing with Western perceptions of the Balkans, are analysed.

The British image of Serbia and the Balkans is of twofold importance. Historically this image was created within the world's greatest empire. Therefore, during the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth centuries it was of utmost importance for the Balkan countries, all of which tried to improve their image in Britain. Secondly, British perceptions often served as a basis for the creation of the American image of the Balkans. Since nowadays the USA is a predominant world power, and English is the most important language in the world in political and economic terms, the image of the Balkans created in Britain a century ago sometimes projects into the present.

In 1937 Svetozar Spanachevich, Director of the Balkan Institute in Belgrade, sadly remarkerd that as a result of rivalry between the great Powers 'the Balkans became a "barrel of gun powder" and the general opinion was established that the Balkan nations were unruly barbarians. Indeed, so general was this misconception, that it affected even many Balkanians, especially those among educated classes.'[2] At the end of the century this negative characterisation of the Balkans has been revived as a consequence of the wars in ex-Yugoslavia.

There are various suggestions as to the roots of the negative image of the Balkans and Serbia in the British and American press which include: political interests, conspiracy theories, the theory that Asiatic orientalism was adapted to the Balkans, and the theory of British cultural imperialism which created a 'mythical "Wild East"'.

---

2 Svetozar Spanaćević, 'The Real Balkans and an Old Misconception', *The Anglo-Yugoslav Review*, vol. IV, Nos. 7–8 (July–December 1937), p. 34.

Although I have collected data confirming the re-orientalisation of the image of Serbia in this period, in my opinion it is the British value system that dominantly contributed to the image of Serbia and the Balkans. Here I understand a value system in the terms of the American sociologist Talcott Parsons (1902–1979) meaning that I apply his theory that social order depends on the existence of general, shared values which are regarded as legitimate and binding, and act as a standard by means of which the ends of actions are selected.[3] The British value system was recently analysed by the British historian Norman Davies. In an effort to identify the key elements of late Victorian British mentality he described the following five characteristics: loyalty to the Crown, patriotism, self-restraint, a sense of duty and a God-fearing attitude.[4] In order to explain this British perception I have applied the above-mentioned categories of Victorian mentality to British perceptions of Serbia.

There are several works dealing with British perceptions of the Balkans. The oldest is a very useful paper written by Wendy C. Bracewell[5] which is restricted to the two decades preceding the Eastern Crisis. Maria Todorova wrote recently a book dealing with Western perceptions of the Balkans, and covering a huge period of the modern age.[6] It gives brilliant

3 Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* /With a New Preface by Bryan S. Turner/ (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 36–51.

4 See: Norman Davies, *The Isles. A History* (London: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 812–820.

5 Wendy C. Bracewell, 'Opinion-Makers: the Balkans in British Popular Literature, 1856–1876', in *Yugoslav British Relations. Reports from the Round Table Held from 23–25th September 1987 in Kragujevac on Occasion of 150 Years of the Arrival of the First British Consul to Serbia* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1988).

6 Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1995).

insights into the patterns of the Western perception of the Balkans, but offers limited details about the period that this thesis is concerned with. Finally, Vesna Goldsworthy has published a useful book on the perception of the Balkans in British popular literature, which is only indirectly relevant for my thesis.[7]

There are also several historiographic works dealing with the May Coup and Anglo-Serbian relations, mainly covering the political and economic aspects of these relations. Lyilyana Aleksich-Peykovich in her substantial work Relations of Serbia with France and England 1903–1914[8] has provided a very detailed account of these relations (in 956 pages) but the book is focused on political and economic relations only, and is sometimes obscured by pseudo-Marxist interpretation. Several other works of Anglo-Saxon historiography are perhaps more relevant as reference for this work. Wayne Vucinich paved the way for this research. He was the first to give a detailed account on foreign reactions to the May Coup in his book *Serbia Between East and West 1903–1908*.[9] The fifth chapter of his book, entitled 'Foreign Recognition' (pp. 75–121) is dedicated to this topic. David MacKenzie has written several books and papers dealing with the May Coup and its aftermath. He has written a biography about Colonel Dragutin Dimitriyevich Apis, one of the most active conspirators in the May Coup. His recent contribution to

7 Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania. The Imperialism of the Imagination* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998).

8 Љиљана Алексић-Пејковић, *Односи Србије са Француском и Енгле̄ском 1903–1914*, Историјски институт, Београд 1965 [Lyilyana Aleksich-Peykovich, *Odnosi Srbiye sa Frantsuskom i Engleskom 1903–1914* (Belgrade: Istoriyski institut, 1965)].

9 Wayne Vucinich, *Serbia Between East and West 1903–1908* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1954).

this field is a book dealing with secret societies as well as several articles dealing with this topic.[10] MacKenzie has been trying in his works to exonerate the regicides portraying them as patriots.[11] Of the works in Serbo-Croatian a very valuable one is the biography of King Peter, written by Dragolyub Zhivoyinovich, particularly its second volume.[12] There is, as far as I know, only one monograph dealing with the question of the regicide. It is the doctoral thesis of Francis Radovich,[13] entitled *Aftermath of*

10 David MacKenzie, *Apis: The Congenial Conspirator. The Life of Colonel Dragutin T. Dimitrijevic* (Boulder, Colorado, 1989); *Idem*, *Violent Solutions: Revolutions, Nationalism, and Secret Societies in Europe to 1918* (Lanham, New York, London: University Press of America, 1996); *Idem*, 'A Military Coup which Succeeded: May 29, 1903', *Serbian Studies*, VI, No. 2 (Fall 1992); *Idem*, 'The May Conspiracy and European Powers: The Diplomatic Boycott Against Serbia 1903–1906', *South East European Monitor* (Vienna, Austria), II, No. 2 (1995); the last two articles have been reprinted in: David, MacKenzie, *Serbs and Russians* (East European Monographs, No. 459, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

11 Voyislav Vuchkovich gave the opposite view, dealing with the disastrous effects that the regicides had on Serbian parliamentarism. See: Војислав Ј. Вучковић, ,,Унутрашње кризе Србије и први светски рат", *Историјски часопис*, Београд, том 14–15 (1963–1965) [Voyislav Y. Vuchkovich, 'Unutrashnye krize Srbiye i prvi svetski rat', *Istoriyski chasopis*, vol. 14–15 (1963–1965)].

12 Драгољуб Р. Живојиновић, *Краљ Петар I Карађорђевић, живот и дело. У отаџбини, 1903–1914*, БИГЗ, Београд 1990 [Dragolyub R. Zhivoyinovich, *Kraly Petar I Karageorgevich, Zhivot i Delo. U otadjbini, 1903–1914* (Belgrade: BIGZ, 1990)].

13 Francis Radovich, *Aftermath of the Regicide: British Policy and Serbian Conspiracy Question, 1903–1906.* The thesis includes the following chapters: 1. The regicide of Alexander and Draga, precedents and causes; 2. Europe and the regicide: British reaction; 3. The continued suspension of relations; 4. The role of King Edward; 5. British terms and Serbian non-compliance; 6. The Macedonian question: urgency for renewal; 7. The Austro-Serbian customs crisis: new aspects in Balkan politics; 8. The final obstacles to renewal; 9. The reorientation of British policy: diplomatic relations established and 10. Conclusion. At least two extracts from

the Regicide: British Policy and Serbian Conspiracy Question, 1903–1906, presented in the History Department of the University of Santa Barbara, USA, in 1975, under the supervision of Prof. Dimitrije Djordjevic. This thesis is of utmost importance for my work, and it represents a very thorough analysis of the May Coup and its aftermath. Although the thesis concentrates mostly on the political aspects, it presents a number of material facts that can help explain the official perception of Serbia in Britain. The works of Vucinich and MacKenzie are even more concentrated on political and economic aspects.[14]

her dissertation have been published: Frances Radovich, 'The British Court and Relations with Serbia', *East European Quarterly,* vol. 14 (Winter 1980), pp. 461–468; Frances Radovich, 'Britain's Macedonian Reform Policy, 1903–1905', *The Historian*, vol. 43 (August 1981), pp. 493–508.

14 MacKenzie has given very useful review of the historiography of the May Coup. MacKenzie 'A Military Coup which Succeeded: Serbia, May 29, 1903', and MacKenzie, *Serbs and Russians*, pp. 309–311.

CHAPTER 1

THE PERCEPTION OF SERBIA IN BRITAIN DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The First Anglo-Serbian contacts

The emergence of the modern Serbian state during the First Serbian Uprising (1804-1813) failed to attract special attention in Britain. The detailed English bibliography on the Eastern Question, collected by the Serbian scholar Voyislav Yovanovich, mentions no special contemporary books or travellers' accounts on Serbia in this period.[1] Nor did the Second Serbian Uprising (1815) and oral recognition of Serbian autonomy by the Porte cause any comments. It was believed in Serbia that British Foreign Secretary Castlereagh replied to Serbian delegates during the Congress of Vienna that Serbia was too far away from Great Britain.[2]

It was only in the 1820s that Serbia, actually Servia,[3] started to be mentioned in the titles of British books and articles.

---

1 Voyislav M. Yovanovitch, *An English Bibliography on the Near Eastern Question, 1481-1906* (Belgrade: Servian Academy of Sciences 1909).

2 Stevan K. Pavlowitch, *Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Serbia, 1837-1839: The Mission of Colonel Hodges* (Paris, The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1961), p. 22.

3 The term Servia was used in Britain until the First World War. As soon as the Great War started the ‘v’ was finally changed into a ‘b’. Since

This interest was mostly cultural. It was the age of romanticism and in Britain, as in Germany and France, substantial interest existed in the poetry of emerging nationalities on the outskirts of Europe. Serbian national poems or 'minstrelsy', as they were called in obvious reference to Scotland, appeared in several translations, the most prominent being those of John Bowring.[4]

The Establishment of Diplomatic Relations

What British knowledge of Serbia at the time was like can be seen from such surprising assessments as a dispatch in 1837 from British Foreign Minister, Viscount Palmerston mentioning the 'existing constitution in Serbia', while Lord Ponsonby, British Ambassador in Constantinople, in December of the same year, spoke about the 'Boyards of Serbia'. This, as S. Pavlowitch points out, gives us a picture 'of a country with established laws and institutions and a land-owning nobility'[5] which was far from being the case.

August, 1914 'Serbia' started to be used in the British press as an expression of British appreciation for its ally. Herbert Vivian was among the first to mention this question: 'I believe we are alone among the nations in speaking of "Servia" and "Servians", words which are resented as implying servitude, though they do not do so any more than "Slav" implies slavery'. Herbert Vivian, *Servia, the Poor Man's Paradise*, p. xiv, cf. R. W. Seton-Watson, *Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question. A Study in Diplomacy and Party Politics* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1972), p. 188, footnote 2.

4 See Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania*, p. 23; John Bowring, *Servian Popular Poetry*, translated by John Bowring (London: printed for the author, 1827).

5 Stevan K. Pavlowitch, *Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Serbia, 1837-1839*, p. 171.

The establishment of diplomatic relations between the United Kingdom and the Principality of Serbia was realised as a consequence of Anglo-Russian rivalry in the Balkans. When on 21 July, 1774 Russia and Turkey signed the famous treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, Russia gained strategically important territories. Even more important, Russia was granted the right to build an Orthodox church in Constantinople, and to make representations on behalf of it 'and those who serve it'.[6] This meant that Russia had the right to protect the Turkish Orthodox Christians, which effectively enabled Russia to intervene in the Ottoman Empire, especially in the autonomous Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldova. With the emergence of the Serbian autonomous principality in 1815, Russia gained the possibility to exercise its influence in another, nominally Turkish, territory. Russian influence reached its peak in 1833 when, following Russian help to the Sultan against the rebellious Mohammed Ali, the Porte was forced to consent to the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi. Now Turkey seemed 'to be becoming a Russian protectorate or vassal-state'.[7] In these circumstances the small Principality of Serbia became more important.

The British diplomat David Urquhart (1805-1877) was the first to draw the attention of the Foreign Office to the importance of Serbia. He visited Serbia in April 1832, and November 1833 when he realised the importance that Serbia might have in the Eastern Question. He had influence on Viscount Palmerston (British Foreign Secretary 1830-41 and 1846-51) and Lord Ponsonby, but especially on Sir Herbert Taylor, Private Secretary of King William IV. The Serbian diplomat and historian Chedomille Miyatovich thought that Urquhart was the first to rec-

6 M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question, 1774-1923: A Study in International Relations* (London: Macmillan, 1966), p. ix.

7 *Ibid*, p. 85.

ommend the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Principality of Serbia to the Foreign Office. It is quite possible that Urquhart was instrumental in establishing diplomatic relations.[8]

Viscount Palmerston decided to send Colonel George Lloyd Hodges to Serbia as a British diplomatic representative. Passports were delivered for Serbia, at the beginning of 1837, for Hodges, his family and his secretary. These were the first passports ever issued by the United Kingdom for Serbia.[9] In his letter to the British Ambassador in Vienna Palmerston described the objectives of the British Government in Serbia. The objectives well characterise long-term British goals in Serbia, in the middle of the nineteenth century:

> *Now the British Government has two objects in view with respect to Servia; first, that Servia should form a barrier against the further encroachments of Russia; secondly that Servia should afford an opening for the extension of the commerce of Great Britain... The first object, therefore will perhaps be best attained, by keeping Servia as she is, with respect to political dependence; but by endeavouring to give the Servians an interest in maintaining their present political position, and by opening to them for that purpose such a prospect of internal prosperity, as may render them unwilling to be incorporated with the Russian Empire.*[10]

The new British Consul, Hodges (1789-1863), had served in the army since 1806. He took part in the Peninsular War, and

8 Cf. Pavlowitch, *Anglo-Serbian Rivalry,* p. 23.

9 *Ibid*, p. 18.

10 *Ibid*, p. 195.

later he commanded the foreign brigade fighting for the Portuguese constitutionalists. In Portugal he attained the rank of colonel and was authorised to retain his Portuguese rank when he was appointed to be Consul in Serbia. He was able to gain the confidence of the Serbian Prince Milosh Obrenovich (reign 1815-1839), the leader of the Second Serbian Uprising, who proved to be an able but ruthless despot. He convinced him to rely on Britain. Ruling in an autocratic manner, Milosh could not tolerate Russian tutelage, and alliance with Britain seemed to him a good opportunity to continue to rule in the manner of Turkish pashas, which was not really what Palmerston and Hodges had had in mind. However, Milosh's reliance on Britain proved to be fatal. His adversaries, the most distinguished Serbian notables, rallied around the Russian Consul and soon took control of Serbia. Subsequently, Milosh abdicated in 1839.

Paradoxically, relations between Serbia and Britain started in such a way that Viscount Palmerston supported a despotic Serbian Prince, and in return autocratic Russia supported more liberal oligarchs who have been ironically remembered as the party of 'constitutionalists', ruling Serbia from 1842-1858, with Prince Alexander of the house of Karageorgevich. In the end Viscount Palmerston was only able to say to the disappointed Hodges, referring to the Eastern Question, that the Serbian question was only part of a greater matter: 'And if greater matter shall be settled, as it must be in a manner consistent with the maintenance of the Balance of Power, and with the preservation of the peace in Europe, these collateral questions will fall into the same train...'[11] Hodges soon had to leave Serbia and go to Vienna in September 1839.

11 *Ibid*, p. 177.

Two years passed before a successor was appointed. He was another soldier from the Napoleonic wars, Thomas de Grenier Fonblanque. Characteristically, he was given the choice between Serbia and Panama and he chose the former. However, to come to Belgrade, the capital of autonomous Serbia, and the seat of a Turkish pasha, was not really an expression of merit for a British diplomatist. The new British Consul (from 1841 till 1860) took the longest possible route through the civilised world to Serbia, staying three seasons in Novi Sad, in southern Hungary, before he finally arrived in Belgrade at the beginning of 1843. The fact that though he stayed the next nineteen years in Serbia, the British Consul never learned Serbian, gives an impression of the dislike he must have felt about the place of his mission.[12] As Edith Durham rightly pointed out, describing the situation at the beginning of the twentieth century, a Balkan Legation was to an Englishman a spot which he hoped 'soon to quit for a more congenial atmosphere in another part of Europe. As for a Consul, he often found it wiser not to learn the local language, lest a knowledge of it should cause him to be kept for a lengthy period in some intolerable hole'.[13] During De Fonblanque's tenure this contrast must have been even more pronounced. Still, it was during his consulship that the first English books about Serbia were published.

12 Phyllis Auty, 'Slobodan Jovanovic as a Historian', *The Slavonic and Eastern European Review*, vol. 38 (1959-60), p. 522; cf. Ljubodrag P. Ristic, 'Serbo-Russian Relations from 1856 to 1862 according to Reports by British Consuls in Belgrade', *Balcanica* (Belgrade), vol. 27 (1994), p. 103.

13 M. Edith Durham, *The Serajevo Crime* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1925), p. 10. Perhaps less rightly Durham noted that to a Russian, 'a Balkan post was one of high importance; the atmosphere of semi-Oriental intrigue, distasteful to an Englishman, was the breath of his nostrils; nor did any Slavonic dialect present difficulty to him'. *Ibid*, p. 11.

'The End of This Wheel-going Europe' - The First British Works on Serbia

David Urquhart wrote a book about Serbia, but it seems to have had such a small print run that no complete samples of it are known to have been preserved.[14] The preserved part of Urquhart's work entitled *A Fragment of the History of Serbia*, was published in English in 1843, and was recently issued by the Archives of Serbia. In his introduction Urquhart was the first British author to clearly place the Serbian state within Europe and to see her as a potential British ally against Russian expansionism:

> *While Serbia, unlike Circassia or Greece, does really dwell in Europe, Europe comprehends it still less than those names so much misused and so little understood... She (Serbia) now stands pre-eminent among the Sarmatian race unincorporated with the Russian Empire. She is the centre within that great family of Slaav resistance to Muscovite despotism, and presents to Europe its chief security against Russian ambition.*[15]

Some modern Serbian historians feel that Urquhart did have some influence in the process of the creation of the first programme of foreign policy of Serbia known as Nachertaniye

14 David Urquhart, *Serbia, the Circassia of the West; to which is added an Outline of the Character and Position of the Slavonic Populations of Europe* (London, 1843). The book was announced in Urquhart's magazine *The Portfolio* and *The British and Foreign Review* (No. 24, p. 294) in 1844 quotes this book. Cf. Pavlowitch, *op. cit.,* p. 186. Voyislav Yovanovich found in the British Museum an unfinished book by Urquhart, entitled 'A Fragment of the History of Serbia' which I believe is part of the above-mentioned book.

15 David Urquhart, *A Fragment of the History of Serbia 1843* (Belgrade: The Archives of Serbia, 1989), p. 14; The book has been published bilingually.

(the Draft).[16] The Draft was written in 1844, according to the designs of Polish Paris émigrés gathered around Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski (1770-1861) with whom Urquhart maintained contacts. The Draft served as a basis for Serbian foreign policy in the period between 1844 and 1867, and was in its essence an effort to create a Serbian nation-state. Some anti-Russian designs of the document are certainly of foreign origin, and could have been inspired by Urquhart.

Some idea of the British view and knowledge of Serbia can be gleaned from several successive editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Not surprisingly, a supplementary edition from 1824 does not include an entry on Serbia.[17] But, in a volume of the Seventh Edition there is a small entry on 'Servia' describing her as follows:

> *Servia, a province of Turkey in Europe, borders on the north by the rivers Danube and Save, which separate it from Hungary; on the east it is bounded by Bulgaria; on the west by Bosnia; and on the south by Albania and Macedonia. It is about 190 miles in length from east to west, ninety five in breadth from north to south, and it is divided into four sagiacates...*

This was all that an interested British reader was able to find out about Serbia in 1842.[18]

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16 Милорад Екмечић, *Стварање Југославије 1790-1918,* Просвета, Београд 1989 [Milorad Ekmechich, *Stvaranye Yugoslaviye 1790-1918* (Belgrade: Prosveta 1989), pp. 473-475].

17 *Supplement to the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Editions of the Encyclopaedia Britannica with Preliminary Dissertations on the History of the Sciences*, vol. 6 (Edinburgh, 1824).

18 *The Encyclopaedia Britannica or Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature,* s. v. 'Servia', The Seventh Edition (Edinburgh, 1842), p. 158.

In 1844, a very interesting book was published by Alexander William Kinglake, under the title *Eothen*.[19] Kinglake studied at Trinity College, Cambridge, and later was called to the bar. In 1835 he went on the Eastern tour, and later he wrote a book about it, which Sir Leslie Stephen described as 'a delightful record of personal impressions rather than outward facts'.[20] The book went through numerous editions and it served for a long time as a source of information to British public on the matter of the Near East. How popular the book was in Britain can be seen from a quotation of a distinguished British archaeologist D. G. Hogarth. Speaking about the borders of the Nearer East in 1902, Hogarth mentioned that 'fifty years ago the author of *Eothen* saw the portal of the East in the walls of Belgrade'.[21] Obviously, the book was so well known in Britain that only a reference to its title, without mentioning the name of the author, was enough. Although the book mentions Serbia only in the first two chapters, one should take it into account due to the influence it had on British public.

Kinglake entered Turkey at Belgrade, feeling that he had come 'to the end of this wheel-going Europe, and now my eyes would see the splendour and havoc of the East'.[22] He describes Belgrade only now and then, but on his tour through Serbia his group stayed for a while in a Serbian village, which gave

19 A. W. Kinglake, *Eothen, or, Traces of Travel brought Home from the East* (London: John Ollivier, 1844).

20 Sir Leslie Stephen, *The Dictionary of National Biography*, s. v. 'Kinglake Alexander William' (London, 1909), p. 172.

21 D. G. Hogarth, *The Nearer East* (London: William Heinemann, 1902), p. 1.

22 A. W. Kinglake, *Eothen* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), p. 1.

Kinglake occasion to note that 'Servian villagers lived in happy abundance', but 'they were careful to conceal their riches, as well as their wives'.[23] On the Serbian and Bulgarian cultural heritages he commented:

> *There are a few countries less infested by 'lions' than the provinces on this part of your rout: you are not called upon to 'drop a tear' over the tomb of 'the once brilliant' anybody, or to pay your 'tribute of respect' to anything dead or alive; there are no Servian or Bulgarian litterateurs with whom it would be positively disgraceful not to form an acquaintance...*[24]

Since Urquhart's book is not available, the oldest extant original and serious British work on Serbia that has been preserved is by Andrew Archibald Paton (1811-1874), and it was published in 1845. He was a real globe-trotter, visiting Serbia on three occasions. The very title of his book in which he calls Serbia 'the youngest member of the European family'[25] is significant. His was an obvious effort to introduce British readers to a little-known part of Europe.

First he visited Belgrade, which left him with the impression of a half-oriental town.[26] He preferred the Serbian province to Belgrade 'where political intrigue and want of the

23 *Ibid*, p. 23.

24 *Ibid*, pp. 27-8.

25 Andrew Archibald Paton, *Servia, the Youngest Member of the European Family: or, a Residence in Belgrade, and Travels in the Highlands and Woodlands of the Interior, during the Years 1843 and 1844* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans 1845).

26 He generally noted about Serbia that it contains within itself 'the forms of the East and the West, as separately and distinctly as possible', *Ibid*, p. 273.

confidence which sincerity inspires, paralyze social intercourse'.[27]

He witnessed some efforts at the modernisation of Serbia. The Serbian Bishop of Shabats told him proudly that when he was young 'a great proportion of the youth could neither read nor write: thanks to our system of national education, in a few years the peasantry will all read'.[28] On the other hand, Serbian peasants 'of the back-woods, neither poor nor barbarous, delighted me by the patriarchal simplicity of their manners, and the poetic originality of their language'.[29] Another thing he liked was the lack of poverty among peasants. Paton saw 'a large assembly of peasants, and not a trace of poverty, vice or misery, the best proof that both civil and ecclesiastical authorities do their duty'.[30] Commenting on the fact that the wife of a deputy prefect sat at dinner, but at the foot of the table, he noticed that it was 'a position characteristic of that of women in Servia - midway between the graceful precedence of Europe and the contemptuous exclusion of the East'.[31]

In his later work he did not fail to comment on the very significant question for Britain: the Russophilic inclinations of Balkan Slavs. Although, he had no sympathies for potential Russian expansionism towards the Balkans, his description of the Serbian relation to Russia is full of insight:

> *In Servia itself, the people are quite content with their present position, and certainly have not the slightest desire to become Russian; but, considering the power and*

27 *Ibid*, p. 141.
28 *Ibid*, p. 114.
29 *Ibid*, p. 141.
30 *Ibid*, pp. 138-139.
31 *Ibid*, p. 105.

influence of Russia at the Porte, the Prince and Government of Servia exercise a sound discretion in avoiding any bickering with Russia'.[32]

The entry on Serbia in the Eight Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, covering two pages with double columns, published in 1860, and written two or three years earlier, is informative and provides a good survey of Serbia of that time. First, the legal position of Serbia is given, denoting her as 'one of the Danubian principalities, nominally included in the Ottoman Empire, but in reality only tributary to that power'. The unsigned article describes Serbia's richness in minerals such as gold, silver, copper, iron, loadstone, and coal, but warns that Serbia 'is little cultivated, and scantily peopled; and its great resources want the hand of industry to develop them'. It further asserts that manufacturing industry is 'still in infancy, and is somehow discouraged by the little demand that there is for manufactured goods... The trade with foreign countries is very active, and daily increasing in importance'. The author warns that there were no good communications in Serbia of that age. Although public education was 'one of chief objects of attention to the government' it was 'still in a very backward condition'. Finally the article mentions that 'there is no distinction of ranks, except what is derived from occupation'.[33] The article testifies

32 A. A. Paton, *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic including Dalmatia, Croatia, and the Southern Provinces of the Austrian Empire* (2 vols., London: Chapman and Hall 1849) I, p. 124. On the other hand, Paton noted that 'In Montenegro Russia possesses complete influence; and this is the only part of the lands of Illyria where this influence is quite undivided'. *Ibid*, p. 124.

33 *The Encyclopaedia Britannica or Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature*, s. v. 'Servia', vol. 20, The Eight Edition (1860), pp. 61-63.

to the growing British interest in Serbia. On the whole, it could have served as a discreet commercial for Serbia. It was an invitation for British capital to come and British travellers to visit her.

British Perceptions of Serbia During the Reign of Michael Obrenovich IV (1860-1868)

The downfall of the regime of 'constitutionalists' in 1858 brought the house of Obrenovich back to the throne of Serbia. First Prince Milosh Obrenovich reigned for a short time until his death in 1860. He was succeeded by his son Michael (reigned 1860-68) whose efforts to expel the remaining Turkish garrisons in six Serbian towns, and to lead more active foreign policy, again turned British attention to Serbia. When, in June 1862, the town of Belgrade was shelled from the Turkish citadel, animosities between Serbia and Turkey grew high, and a conference of the Great Powers on the Serbian question was commenced in July 1862, in Kanlyja, the suburb of Constantinople. British Ambassador Henry Bulwer advocated Turkish interests at the conference sometimes 'more vehemently' than the Turkish Ambassador himself.[34] As a consequence of this crisis Princess Julia, the wife of Prince Michael, visited London, accompanied by several Serbian diplomats in an effort to arouse British sympathies. This was the first such high-ranking visit from the Principality of Serbia to the United Kingdom. It was also the first occasion on which the Serbs tried to influence British public

34 Ljubodrag P. Ristić, 'Serbo-Russian Relations from 1856 to 1862 according to Reports by British Consuls in Belgrade', *Balcanica*, Belgrade, vol. 27 (1994), p. 112.

opinion with their own writings.[35] It was believed that Prince Michael told Mr. Filip Hristich, a Serbian Senator, the following: 'If we can win public opinion in England to our side, then surely the English Government will change its stance towards us somewhat'.[36] This produced some results. It was now, for the first time, that 'eloquent and earnest speakers stood up in the English Houses of Parliament to plead the rights of Serbia'.[37] Finally, Prince Michael achieved his goals and the last Turkish soldiers left Serbia in April 1867. This time Michael had the support of Britain which feared that his war with Turkey would be rather dangerous for her integrity and therefore supported Turkish abandonment of fortresses.

At the time of the Turkish bombardment (1862) Rev. William Denton (1815-1888),[38] who studied at the University of Oxford, and who was Vicar of the Church of St. Bartholomew

35 See *The Case of Servia. By a Serb* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1863); Philip Christitch, Servian Senator, *A few Remarks on the Speech of Mr. Layard, Delivered in the House of Commons, Concerning Servia, on Friday, May 29th, 1863* (London: printed by C. W. Reynell, 1863); *The Debate on Turkey in the House of Commons, on Friday, May the 29th, 1863. With Remarks by Ph. Christitch, Servian Senator* (London: printed by C. W. Reynell, 1863); *The Serbo-Turkish Question; or, the Reciprocal Relations between Servian and Turkish Government, By a Servian* (London: printed by C. W. Reynell, 1863); Vladimir Yovanovitch, *The Serbian Nation and the Eastern Question* (London, 1863).

36 Quoted in Wendy C. Bracewell, 'Opinion-Makers: the Balkans in British Popular Literature, 1856-1876', p. 112. See Милан Ф. Христић, Србија и Енглеска пре пола века. Мисија Филипа Христића у Лондону 1863. године, Геца Кон, Београд 1910 [Milan F. Hristich, Srbiya i Engleska pre pola veka. Misiya Filipa Hristicha u Londonu 1863. godine (Belgrade: Geca Kon, 1910)].

37 Elodie Lawton Mijatovics, *The History of Modern Serbia* (London: William Tweedie, 1872), p. 226.

38 About Denton see: E. Irving Carlyle, *Dictionary of National Biography*, s. v. 'Denton, William', vol. 22, supplement (London, 1911), pp. 555-556.

in the City of London, visited Serbia. He says that 'in a strange country' he was especially interested in the Christian Orthodox Church and in Serbia's independence, which was 'daily threatened and sometimes actually endangered'. He obviously criticises British foreign policy when he says that he cannot agree 'with those who rejoice at the overthrow of despotism in Naples, and yet assist in the bolstering-up of the far more terrible despotism in Turkey'.[39]

Although he noticed the lack of an aristocracy in Serbia, he was so impressed by Serbian peasants who told him that 'every Serbian is a noble', that he concluded: 'I am recording the result of my own experience, when I say that every Servian is a gentleman'. He also observed that there was perfect freedom in Serbia 'which is enjoyed in a country where the constitution is as free as the franchise more extended than that in England'.[40]

A rather different view was offered in the same year by another British traveller, Lieutenant G. Arbuthnot. His chief interest was Herzegovina and the Christian rebels there, but he also described Bosnia and Montenegro, and added a brief account of Serbia at the end of his book.[41] He argued that the Turkish provinces 'in which the Mussulman element predominates' were more advanced than Serbia as a consequence of 'the lamentable indolence of masses, who are contented to live in the most abject poverty, neglecting even to take advantage of a naturally fertile soil'.[42] The 'sum of civilisation' in Serbia, in Arbuthnot's opinion, was Belgrade. Speaking about Prince Michael he mentions

39 Rev. W. Denton, *Servia and the Servians* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1862), p. vii.

40 *Ibid*, p. 104.

41 Lieutenant George Arbuthnot, *Herzegovina; or Omer Pacha and the Christian Rebels. With a Brief Account of Servia, its Social, Political, and Financial Condition* (London: Longman and Co., 1862).

42 *Ibid*, p. 263.

his 'semi-civilised subjects', and throughout the book he uses the adjective 'Slavish' when referring to the Slavs, implying their slave origins. At the end he advises Prince Michael to promote 'education and civilisation among the people' with no delay.[43]

The book that most influenced British public opinion was written by two ladies. In 1867 Georgina Muir Mackenzie and Adelina Paulina Irby published their book *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe.*[44] The last two chapters deal with Serbia, giving Serbian history from the early Middle Ages up to the time when the book was written. Their book became very relevant when the Eastern Crisis began.

The Eastern Crisis and British Perceptions of Serbia

After the assassination of Prince Michael in 1868, his uncle's grandson came to power. Paris educated young Prince Milan (ruled 1868-1889) became better known to the British public during the Eastern Crisis. William T. Stead noticed, at the end of century, that it was in 1876 that Western democracies learned more about Serbia. Before that even basic facts were known 'only to a few statesmen and diplomatists, travellers and students'.[45]

43 *Ibid*, p. 284.

44 G. Muir Mackenzie and A. Paulina Irby, *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1867). On Adelina Irby see Ivo Andrić, 'Miss Adelina Irby', *The Anglo-Yugoslav Review*, No. 3–4 (July-October 1936), pp. 85–90.

45 William T. Stead, 'Character Sketch. Ex-King Milan of Servia', *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 20 (1899), p. 134.

Still, in the 1870s, the first *History of Serbia*, written by a Briton was published. The author was Elodie Lawton Miyatovich (*c*. 1835-1908), wife of Chedomille Miyatovich, who was at that time an expert of the Serbian Ministry of Finance. The book probably influenced British public opinion much less than the translation of Ranke's *History of Servia*,[46] but it is interesting to consult this book in order to see where Serbia was placed in terms of the imaginative geography of the Balkans. Mrs. Miyatovich, in the preface to the book, states that Serbia is 'the only Eastern state whose finances are always prosperous'.[47] Serbia is also described as 'the single European State that has not yet the blessing, or burden, of national debt', and 'the only State in the East of Europe that has a large, well armed... army'.[48] Commenting on Serbian parliamentarianism she notes: 'In the East (even in Serbia, who sometimes indulges in a fond fancy that she is an Eastern England), all intrigues are considered good if they only lead to the desired end...'[49] Even to Elodie Miyatovich who lived in Serbia and who married a Serb, it was not clear where Serbia belonged. She was in the East, in the East of Europe, but at the same time the 'European State'. Obviously, the occidentalisation in British perception of Serbia that had started in the

46 Leopold Ranke, *A History of Servia and the Servian Revolution, from Original MSS, and Documents. Translated from the German by Mrs. Alexander Kerr* (London: John Murray, 1847).

47 Elodie Lawton Mijatovics, *The History of Modern Serbia* (London: William Tweedie, 1872), pp. v-vi. She also published in English: Madame Csedomille Mijatovics, *Serbian Folk-Lore. Popular Tales, Selected and Translated by Madam Csedomille Mijatovics. Edited, and with an Introduction by the Rev. William Denton, M. A.* (London: W. Isbister and Co., 1874).

48 *Ibid*, p. vi.

49 *Ibid*, p. 260.

1840s with Paton's and Urquhart's works, was still, in 1870s, undergoing development.

The Eastern Crisis started with the insurrection of the Christians in Herzegovina in July 1875. The British Conservative Government of Disraeli (in power from 1874 till 1880) was initially not too concerned about it. However, on 6 September 1876, Gladstone published his illustrious pamphlet the *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, which provoked a sensation in Britain reaching a circulation of 200,000 copies by the end of the month.

In contrast to Gladstone, Disraeli had quite a favourable opinion of Turkey which he visited in 1830, being impressed with turbans, smoking a pipe six feet long, and stretching on divan.[50] While in Turkey he dined with pashas, and as his biographer Maurois puts it, he 'could not see these amiable gentlemen butchering little children'.[51] Gladstone's determination to stop further massacres polarised the British public, and for the first time party policies were constructed according to this question. Both Liberal Turcophobia and Conservative Russophobia were crystallised during this dispute, although party allegiance was not always a determining factor.

Few Englishmen took part in wars that Serbia fought against Turkey in 1876 and 1877. One of them, Philip Salisbury, a lieutenant in the Cheshire Light Infantry, wrote a book describing his experiences in Serbia.[52] The book illustrates the prevailing ignorance of the Balkans in Britain of that time. Salisbury went out to Belgrade with an introduction to 'Prince Karageor-

50 André Maurois, *Disraeli. A Picture of the Victorian Age* (London: Penguin, 1939), p. 48.

51 *Ibid*, p. 130.

52 Philip Salisbury, *Two Months with Tchernaieff in Servia, by Philip H. B. Salisbury, Lieutenant First Royal Cheshire Light Infantry* (London, 1877).

gevitch', believing that he and the ruling Prince of Serbia, Milan Obrenovich were identical. One could not have made graver mistake since Peter Karageorgevich was the pretender to the throne of Serbia at that time. Salisbury sent his introduction to the palace, but nonetheless was later decorated by Price Milan for his gallantry.[53]

During the Eastern Crisis British Balkan travellers became very active. Many philanthropic organisations were founded to help insurgents and refugees in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Humphry Sandwith,[54] William Denton and Paulina Irby were very active in promoting these societies. Especially active were Denton and Sandwith, who primed speakers in Parliament with material.[55] But another British traveller, Stanislas St. Clair, was the spearhead of the Russophobic party, accusing Gladstone of wanting to promote the interests of 'Russian finance and Bulgarian banditti'.[56] In 1877 Gladstone wrote a preface to the second edition of the *Slavonic Provinces.* He argued that now,

53 Cf. R. W. Seton-Watson, *Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question*, p. 116, footnote 2.

54 Sandwith wrote several articles about South Slavs in British magazines during the seventies and in 1877 he published a pamphlet *Shall we fight Russia? An Address to the Working Men of Great Britain* (London: Cassel, Petter and Galpin, 1877).

55 Wendy Bracewell, 'Opinion-Makers: the Balkans in British Popular Literature, 1856-1876', p. 113; for more details on Sandwith's activities in Serbia see: R. W. Seton-Watson, *Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question*, pp. 118-119.

56 Quoted in Wendy Bracewell, *op. cit.,* p. 114. St. Clair was well acquainted with Bulgaria which he entirely disliked. He wrote two books on Bulgaria: Stanislas St. Clair, G. B., and Charles A. Brophy, *Residence in Bulgaria; or, Notes on the Resources and Administration of Turkey: The Condition and Character, Manners, Customs, and Language of the Christian and Mussulman Populations, with Reference to the Eastern Question* (London: John Murray, 1869); *Idem*, *Twelve Year's Study of the Eastern Question in Bulgaria* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1877).

at a time when, thanks to the press, the telegraph, the railway and diplomatic establishments, it had become possible for the first time to 'obtain trustworthy information respecting the contemporary condition of the people of another', there is 'a new and very grave responsibility', alluding to the position of Christians in Turkey. In November 1879 and March 1880, Gladstone's efforts reached their peak during the famous Midlothian Campaign which denounced Tory policy not only towards the Ottoman Empire but also regarding its Imperial designs.[57]

In 1878, after the San Stefano Treaty, Disraeli was ready to start a war against Russia. Gladstone, by contrast, coming to power in 1880, was now ready to demonstrate British naval supremacy in order to force Turkey to give the town of Dulcigno, populated by Albanians, to his beloved Montenegrins, and the Porte had to yield. This signalled a tremendous shift in British foreign policy regarding the Balkans. The Whig-liberal government of Palmerston was ready, in 1850, to blockade the Greek coast just to prove British omnipotence. Thirty years later the Liberal Government of Gladstone was ready to send a British fleet to force the Porte to give an insignificant town to the Montenegrins.

This made Gladstone extremely popular in all south-Slavic lands. He was perhaps the most popular foreign politician of that time among the Serbs. His pictures appeared in Serbian national calendars, and as Slobodan Yovanovich puts it, 'even the Austrian occupation of Bosnia seemed, after Gladstone's speeches, less permanent than earlier'.[58] How popular Gladstone was in

57 See: Fred Singleton, 'Mr. Gladstone and the Eastern Question' in *Yugoslav British Relations. Reports...* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriyu, 1988), p. 39.

58 Слободан Јовановић, *Гледстон*, Југо-исток, Београд, p. 86 [Slobodan Yovanovich, *Gledston* (Belgrade: Yugo-Istok, 1938), p. 86].

Serbia can be seen from the account which James Bourchier gave after visiting Serbia in 1889. He was able to see in a small provincial town of Krushevats a café which bore the name 'Gospodin Gledston' (Mr. Gladstone) and 'a picture of the eminent statesman with a most amiable expression hung over the door'.[59]

Servia, the Poor Man's Paradise

After the Eastern Crisis, interest in Serbia began to decline. Only the coronation of Prince Milan as the first King of modern Serbia (1882) attracted some interest. But it was Milan's attack against Bulgaria in 1885, designed to prevent the Bulgarians from uniting their two provinces, separated by the Berlin Treaty, that aroused some antipathies towards Serbia in Britain.

In the meantime, after Serbia became a Kingdom (1882), the Serbian Minister at Vienna, Filip Hristich was sent (in 1883) to notify Queen Victoria of the Proclamation of Kingdom, and he was soon appointed the first Serbian Minister to the Court of St. James, forty-six years after Britain had sent its first diplomatic representative to Serbia.

British knowledge of Serbia after the Eastern Crisis was considerably more substantial that it had been earlier. One obvious proof of this is the entry on Serbia in the Ninth Edition of

59 James Bourchier, 'The Great Servian Festival', *The Fortnightly Review,* vol. 46 (1889), p. 222; on Gladstone's policy to the Eastern Question see also: R. Shannon, *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1963); Richard Shannon, 'Gladstone and British Balkan Policy', *Der Berliner Kongress von 1878*, eds. R Melville and R. J. Schroeder (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner Verlag, 1982), pp. 163-178, and 'Midlothian: 100 Years Later', *Gladstone, Politics and Religion*, ed. Peter J. Jagger (London: Macmillan, 1985), pp. 88-101.

the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. It covers some six pages with double columns. The entry includes subsections on orography, geology, minerals, climate, products, exports and imports, population, government and army; a sketch of Serbian history; even literature was not neglected. There are subsections on early chronicles, Serbian ballads, the Ragusan era, Raich, Obradovich, Vuk Stefanovich Karadjich, minor writers, Croatian literature, Serbo-Croatian poetry and Slavonic literature in general. At the end a section is devoted to Montenegro.[60] What a considerable improvement in the British knowledge on Serbia in fifty years! In 1835, Kinglake was not able to mention a single Serbian writer, while in 1886 subsections appeared on some of them in the leading British encyclopaedia.

In a rare British report from Serbia, James David Bourchier, associate of *the Fortnightly Review*, and a correspondent of *The Times* for South-Eastern Europe, informed his readers about the five-hundredth anniversary of the Kosovo battle. He noticed that there was something touching in 'celebrating the memory of a great national disaster'.[61] His first impressions were that the Serbs resembled the Irish 'in their power of imagination, in their attachment to song and legend, and in a peculiar tendency to melancholy which pervades their national literature and music' concluding that the Serbians were 'like our fellow-subjects, enthusiastic political dreamers'.[62]

Belgrade left quite an unfavourable impression on him. For him it was a relief to depart from Belgrade, 'the most backward, the most *triste*, the most malodorous, the most dusty,

60 W. R. M., s. v. 'Servia', *The Encyclopaedia Britannica; A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature*, The Ninth Edition, vol. 21 (Edinburgh, 1886), pp. 686-692.

61 Bourchier, 'The Great Servian Festival', p. 214.

62 *Ibid*, pp. 218-219.

the most unwholesome of Balkan capitals, where fever from within and malaria from without contend for the mastery over each successive visitor'.[63]

Speaking of Serbian peasants, he noticed that they did not expend any great amount of labour and that they had enough time for a holiday in the middle of harvest. For Bourchier they were 'the last survivors of a patriarchal age'.[64] He noticed that Russophilic inclinations were not so common among peasants, but rather among other classes. Also, 'the Servian idea' was for them 'an idea and nothing more'.[65]

The lack of substantial information on Serbia in the eighties and nineties was filled with stories on the Serbian royal family. Various scandals concerning King Milan, his divorce with his wife Queen Natalie, his kidnapping of his son Alexander in Wiesbaden from his mother's arms, and finally the sudden decision of King Milan to abdicate in favour of his son (in 1889), all contributed to making the image of Serbia one of 'a Balkan operetta'. Typical in this sense was an article by Queen Natalie (wife of King Milan) published in a holiday edition of *Gentleman*, and abridged in *The Review of Reviews.* She sketched recent Serbian history in the form of a fairy tale to the amusement of British readers. This is how she described what, in a subtitle, was called 'the kidnapping of Wiesbaden':

> *Evil and Intrigue succeeded in inducing Mother to leave the place where she had lived so long, and to seek refuge in another country with her child.*

63 *Ibid*, p. 218.

64 *Ibid*, p. 227.

65 *Ibid*, p. 232.

> *Soon the evil spirits had matured their plan. While the Mother slept, strange hands carried away her son. On awakening she was desperate; like a wounded lioness she ran from chamber to chamber, calling, 'My son, my son!' but only echo answered through the deserted rooms...*[66]

The British public generally had knowledge of only a few figures in Balkan countries. Usually, the list was reduced to the members of ruling families who served as a mirror of emerging Balkan states. When they behaved in a way that could fill up articles in the yellow press, then not only were they themselves affected, but the image of their countries was as well. How negative the image of King Milan was can be seen from W. T. Stead's article on him. He starts by saying that 'of all the potentates of Europe ex-King Milan was the one with whom I felt least sympathy'. Stead admitted to being in a dilemma as to how to write a character sketch of a man 'who in the opinion of the world, has no character at all'.[67] The same volume of *The Review of Reviews* communicated to the British public an article of M. Malet from *Revue de Paris*, under the title 'A Worthless King', which ends with Malet's comment that the very existence of King Milan is 'at this present moment a danger for the whole of Europe'.[68]

It was fortunate for the dynasty of Obrenovich when an Englishman appeared who was ready to defend their virtues. In 1897, Herbert Vivian (1865-1939) published a book, entitled *Servia, the Poor Man's Paradise*. Vivian had finished Harrow,

66 'A Mother and her Son', *The Review of Reviews*, vol. IV (1891), p. 42.

67 William T. Stead, 'Character Sketch. Ex-King Milan of Servia', *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 20 (1899), p. 129.

68 'A Worthless King', *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 20 (1899), p. 599.

and then Trinity College, Cambridge. He was a passionate student of European royalty, which later led him to found the Royalist International. The first persons of royal blood whom he studied were those of the dynasty of Obrenovich.

He was delighted by what he saw in Serbia, and says that if he were to relate only half of all the wonderful things he had seen, 'not a soul in England would believe me'.[69] He gave a rather sympathetic account of Serbian King Alexander and the Serbian army. He finds that one of the blessings that Serbia enjoys is 'that she is not pestered by dissenters'.[70] It is 'the National Church in the fullest sense of the words'. Although biased, the book has an abundance of facts and confirms the extent to which British knowledge on Serbia had accumulated during previous decades.

Vivian thought, like Bourchier, that the Serbs resembled the Irish. In his interpretation they were similar in 'a certain child-like simplicity: they are so easily amused and excited, they hate and love with so much emphasis, their character is so delightfully free from complexity'.[71]

Belgrade, which had left such an unfavourable impression on Bourchier eight years earlier, was a revelation for Vivian. He said he had gone to Belgrade expecting nothing 'and now I am so completely the victim of her seductive charms that I cannot tear myself away without the sharpest pang. It is a new sensation to lose the heart to a town'.[72]

69 Herbert Vivian, *Servia, the Poor Man's Paradise*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1897), p. viii.

70 *Ibid*, p. 65.

71 *Ibid*, p. 290.

72 *Ibid*, p. 195.

Vivian's book includes a valuable chapter on industry, commerce and communication in which Vivian gives an elaborate analysis of potential British investments in Serbia and the possibilities for the advancement of Serbian trade. He analysed the chances of individual products that could be exported to Serbia, proposing the establishment of an English line of steamers to link Belgrade and the Black Sea, as a solution to communication problems. He finishes in a lyrical vein ''What to do with our sons' is a favourite problem with us. I solve it by replying: Send them out to the Balkan States, where they shall be happy and wealthy and wise'.[73]

In June 1901, *The Humanitarian* published an interview with the Serbian Minister to the Court of St. James, Sima Lozanich, on its front pages. The interview was entitled typically 'Servia - the Peasant Kingdom'. The editor admitted that 'the average Englishman, is to be feared, knows very little of Servia beyond one or two stories of its late King's eccentricities, as unduly related by the muckrakers of the "Yellow Press"'. The Serbian Minister described Serbia as a constitutional monarchy and this is how he described the social situation in Serbia:

> *Cela va sans dire. We are a nation of peasants. We have scarcely any aristocracy. On the other hand, we have no proletariat, the plague of your great cities, no paupers, no 'submerged tenths'. We have, therefore, no need of work houses and asylums, thanks to certain features of our social life...*

At the end he designated Serbia as 'the paradise of wives'.[74]

73 *Ibid*, p. 147.

74 *The Humanitarian*, vol. XVIII (June 1901), pp. 381-387.

This interview reveals a striking congruence between the image of Serbia in Britain and the Serbia's self-image as a small Kingdom of happy peasants. This congruence existed more or less throughout the nineteenth century.

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✧ ✧

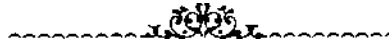
When writing on the British perception of Serbia one has to be restrictive regarding the scope of such an endeavour. Victorian travellers were either of noble origin or, at least, belonged to the upper-middle class and the public they wanted to address was composed of their own social strata. It was only during the Eastern Crisis that stories on the Balkan Christians reached a wider public.

When Leslie Stephen characterised William Kinglake as a person with 'a singularly gentle and attractive manner (that) covered without concealing the generosity of sentiment and chivalrous sense of honour which prompted his eloquent denunciations of wrong-doing',[75] he, in a way, described the typical British Victorian traveller. Bored by London, inspired by a sense of duty, curious to discover new things, courageous enough to face the unknown, British travellers departed to the 'strange countries' of the Near East. Many of them were the first Britons to come to a specific area, or to visit remote sights. Thus, they had steadily been accumulating knowledge on the Balkans and Serbia. Their perceptions were imbued with Victorian sensibilities which included feelings of Christian compassion and patriotic enthusiasm. Emphasis on just one of either of these characteristics inevitably led to the extremes of Turcophobia or Russophobia followed by Slavophobia as its specific form.

75 Sir Leslie Stephen, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-3.

The general impression of the perception formed of Serbia by British travellers, during the nineteenth century is that Christian sympathies prevail over political doctrines of British foreign policy, which was viewed by many of them as being essentially immoral regarding the Ottoman Empire. Only the further scandals of the last Obrenovich, and the bloody and brutal events of the May Coup in Serbia would change this image.

CHAPTER 2



THE BAD BOYS OF THE BALKANS

As I have said, British perceptions of the Balkan countries depended substantially on the persons of their monarchs. Most of the nineteenth century Balkan monarchs belonged to the West European dynasties. Not only the esteem in which the Balkan countries were held, but also the very recognition of their autonomy or independence was often conditioned by the election of a foreign prince. The Balkan dynasties were mostly German by origin. In Greece it was first the Bavarian Wittelsbach dynasty, represented by King Otto (1832–1862), and then the Danish-German Sonderburg-Glücksburg (1863–1924; 1935–1973), in Bulgaria first the Battenberg family (1879–1886) and then Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (1887–1946), and in Romania it was the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen line (1866–1947).[1]

Only the Montenegrin and Serbian royal families were native. They emerged during the struggle for independence of their countries. In Montenegro, the dynasty of Petrovich ruled until 1918, in Serbia (and later in Yugoslavia) it was the dynasties of Obrenovich (1815–1842; 1858–1903) and Karageorgevich (1842–1858; 1903–1945). This fact left Serbia and Montenegro

1 For more details on the modern Balkan dynasties see: Jiri Louda and Michael Maclagan, *Lines of Succession. Heraldry of the Royal Families of Europe* (London: Little, Brown and Company, 1999), pp. 281–299.

somehow isolated in terms of international relations. J. D. Bourchier once pointed out that 'the other newly-constituted States of the Peninsula have escaped the misfortune of a native dynasty, but Servia has been afflicted with two'.[2] It was only when Prince Nicholas of Montenegro (1860–1910, king 1910–1918) married his numerous daughters, from 1889 till 1897, to the members of major European dynasties, that the isolation of the Montenegrin Court came to an end. The Kingdom of Serbia never achieved this goal and it was only during the reign of King Alexander of Yugoslavia (1921–1934) and Prince Regent Paul (1934–1941) that the Yugoslav Court won the respect of the major European Courts. At the beginning of the twentieth century almost all European states were monarchies, and the foreign monarchs of the Balkan countries were often able to take advantage of this fact by contacting their relatives who reigned in the major European countries and their influential friends in major European capitals.

'Foxy' King Ferdinand and James David Bourchier

In comparison with the Greek and Serbian national uprisings, the Bulgarian national awakening began several decades later, and Bulgarian nationalism remained essentially cultural until the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870. Following the Eastern Crisis a greater independent Bulgaria, resembling Bulgaria from the Middle Ages, was established by

2 James D. Bourchier, 'The Balkan States – Their Attitude Towards the Macedonian Question', in Luigi Villari (ed.), *The Balkan Question* (London: John Murray, 1905), pp. 80–81.

the Russian dictated Treaty of San Stefano. European reactions forced Russia to yield to the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin, and Bulgaria was limited to an autonomous region north of Sofia. Southern Bulgaria became a separate province within the Ottoman Empire, known as Eastern Rumelia. Macedonia, originally fully incorporated into the Bulgarian state, was now left outside Bulgaria, within the Ottoman Empire. This was to raise continual internal tensions in Bulgaria during the following decades.

Precisely as other European Powers feared, the new Bulgarian state proved to be a Russian puppet, and consequently a Russian candidate ascended the throne of Bulgaria. He was twenty-two year old Prince Alexander Battenberg, beloved nephew and godson of Russian Tsar Alexander II (1855–1881), and beloved relative of Queen Victoria. However, the new Russian Tsar, Alexander III did not share his father's sympathies for Germany, and Alexander of Battenberg was for him the living symbol of the Russian failure in Berlin. With Russian backing Alexander was twice deposed in the late summer of 1886, and Bulgaria was left with no ruler. Russian officials left Bulgaria, but Russian agents stayed behind trying to overthrow the regency led by Stefan Stambolov. Stambolov's first task was to find an appropriate candidate for the Bulgarian throne and a delegation was formed for this purpose. Naturally, the image of the Bulgarian throne being offered throughout Europe gave quite good foundations for satirical stories in the European Press. Many thought that Alexander of Battenberg was lucky enough to have saved his own head. Bismarck, speculating on the potential new prince of Bulgaria said 'if there is in the world a being unfortunate enough to take that position'.[3]

3 Quoted in Stephen Constant, *Foxy Ferdinand, Tsar of Bulgaria* (London, 1979), p. 50.

Bulgarian delegates had a hard task but suddenly, a candidate approached them in the Viennese opera house on 13 December 1886, during the first interval, offering himself for the throne of Bulgaria. Curiously, a new Balkan operetta started in an opera house. The candidate turned out to be Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, son of Augustus, Prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and Clementine, Princess of Orleans who was the daughter of the last French King Louis Philippe. Ferdinand lacked respect at European courts, even among his relatives, but he had a very rich and ambitious mother, eager to see her son as the king of any state. The Bulgarian delegation was very happy that someone would accept the Bulgarian throne. Consequently he was officially invited by the Bulgarian regents to accept the throne of Bulgaria in April, but he hesitated till August fearing for his own life. Having more or less overcome his fears Ferdinand started his reign by a comical trip by train during which, fearing a possible attempt on his life, he locked himself into a WC.

Punch immediately had a cynical article connecting his acceptance to become Bulgarian Prince with the decision of the Bulgarian Government 'to order at a local Ready-Made Clothing Establishment a complete brand-new Uniform for us to wear the moment we set our foot on Bulgarian soil. "Buttons and all?" we asked "Buttons and all!" was the reply'.[4] However, the new Prince was fortunate enough to find his advocate in the British Press, and Bulgaria found a true defender of her interests in Britain. His name was James David Bourchier (1850–1920). With the background of a classical scholar at Trinity College, Dublin and King's College, Cambridge, he was a master at Eton for a decade, but his increasing deafness forced him to resign in

4 Quoted in *Ibid*, p. 77 (see *Punch* of August 20, and September 10, 1887).

1888, and he went to consult an aurist in Vienna. There he met the Vienna correspondent of *The Times*, fellow Etonian, Brinsley Richards, who sent him on a trial mission to Bulgaria and Romania. He soon became the best-informed Briton on Bulgaria. Besides his articles in *The Times* he published his first impressions on Bulgaria in two issues of *The Fortnightly Review*. His enthusiasm for Bulgaria was immediate. For him there was no country in modern Europe 'which more closely approximates to the ideal Arcady'.[5] Still, it was an Oriental country for Bourchier, which 'has not been ruled by an Asiatic Power for centuries without imbibing the ideas of autocratic despotism which prevail from the Levant to the Pacific'.[6] At this stage, he shared Victorian pre-Gladstonian respect for the Turks. Thus, commenting on the reception of Prince Ferdinand by the population in a Turkish area, he mentioned that 'their natural dignity of manner did not allow them to cheer, but they all saluted respectfully as the Prince passed',[7] or when Ferdinand visited a school even the little Osmanlis cheered quite loudly 'forgetting their native dignity'.[8]

In political matters he took quite an anti-Russian attitude. Although his first impression of Bulgarian Premier S. Stambolov was not very agreeable, he soon concluded: 'Bulgaria cannot do without M. Stambouloff'.[9] Similarly he described Prince Ferdinand as 'gifted with that essentially royal combination of qualities, tact and good memory',[10] characterising him as presently

5 J. D. Bourchier, 'Through Bulgaria with Prince Ferdinand', *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 44 (July-December 1888), p. 39.

6 *Ibid*, p. 46.

7 *Ibid*, p. 50.

8 *Ibid*, p. 53.

9 *Ibid*, p. 47.

10 *Ibid*, p. 52.

'the only possible ruler of Bulgaria', and saying it was the 'true interest of England and other Powers friendly to Bulgarian independence to support him', since with every day of his rule, 'Russian influence and prestige are on the decline'.[11] The Prince and Bourchier were mutually delighted and their friendship would last for several years. It was characteristic for the whole of Bourchier's activity as a Balkan correspondent that, from the very beginning of his career until his sudden death, he had quite an open admiration for the Bulgarian national idea. '"Bulgaria for Bulgarians"', he stated, 'is being raised more loudly than ever', and the sympathies of Englishmen, 'who have received at their birth the priceless heritage of liberty, should be directed towards this interesting people, whose patriotism is among the brightest of their virtues.'[12] In another article on Prince Ferdinand, published in *The Fortnightly Review* in the next year, Bourchier repeated his appreciation for Prince Ferdinand and S. Stambolov. He even concluded that Bulgaria at that moment was 'the most independent state in the world'. Moreover 'she owes no man anything; she is hampered with no proletariat; she is free from the trammels of diplomatic intercourse'.[13]

However, after the murder of Stambolov, who, in the meantime, became Bourchier's personal friend, his relations with Prince Ferdinand deteriorated. In his famous dispatch for *The Times*, Bourchier declared: 'A heavy responsibility rests with those who refused Stambolov permission to leave the country, and who detaining him here like a prisoner, neglected the mea-

11 *Ibid*, p. 56.

12 *Ibid*, p. 56.

13 J. D. Bourchier, 'In the Balkans with Prince Ferdinand', *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 46 (July-December, 1889), p. 56.

sures necessary to ensure his safety'.[14] Ferdinand, however, had his opponents in England as well. One of the most influential, W. T. Stead had quite opposite views on the situation in Bulgaria. For him Stambolov was the 'despot of Bulgaria'[15] and 'if one half of the stories about him' were true, he 'deserved assassination, if ever man did; and although the wild justice of revenge must always be deprecated, no one can be surprised that the relations of men whom he had tortured to death in the Bulgarian dungeons should have deemed themselves justified in slaying him when opportunity offered'.[16] Nor did Stead share Bourchier's Russophobia. He claims: 'It is right and proper that Russia should have the influence in Bulgaria which rightfully belongs to an empire that has spent £100,000,000 of money and 100,000 lives in liberating the principality... At the same time, in the interests of European peace, it might be desirable that Russia's power was greater than less'.[17] If Bourchier contributed to the good image of Ferdinand during his initial years of reign, then W. T. Stead was trying to make his image as bad as possible from the very beginning. Caricatures about Ferdinand that Stead diligently reproduced from the German and Viennese Press in his *The Review of Reviews* had such an aim.

After his famous dispatch on the murder of Stambolov Bourchier ceased to be *persona grata* with both the Prince and the Bulgarian Government. Now he became more considerate about the position of the Pomaks, whom he considered as

14 *The Times*, July 21, 1895; quoted in Lady Grogan, *The Life of J. D. Bourchier* (London: Hurst & Blackett Ltd., 1926), p. 46.

15 *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 12 (July-December 1895), p. 223.

16 *Ibid*, p. 110.

17 *Ibid*, p. 110.

ILLUSTRATION 1
Prince Ferdinand
of Bulgaria

ILLUSTRATION 2
James David Bourchier
In Bulgarian peasant dress

ILLUSTRATION 3
Ghosts of
King Alexander and
Stefan Stambulov
appearing to
Prince Ferdinand

Kladderadatsch.] [July 19.

KING ALEXANDER OF SERVIA: "Hullo! Ferdinand; when are you coming? I just ring to inquire, as Stambuloff cannot."
[In Sofia Prince Ferdinand has the streets patrolled nightly by troops so as to prevent any repetition of the Servian murders]

Der Wahre Jacob.] [May 5.

The Bad Boys of the Balkans
Alexander of Servia and Ferdinand of Bulgaria

ILLUSTRATION 4
King Alexander while
demolishing the Houses of
the Serbian Parliament
(the Skupshtina and
the Senate) and Prince
Ferdinand while hitting
the Sultan's Court through
the Macedonian Committee

'Moslemised Bulgars'.[18] He reported in August 1895 about the massacre of Pomaks in the Macedonian village of Dospat. He soon went personally to Dospat, and wrote about it: 'Terrible scene. Resembled Sodom and Gomorra after fire and brimstone'.[19] *The Times* requested further investigation by Bourchier, and later supported him although he could not prove the scope of the massacre that he had described in his initial despatches. Now that he had fallen into total disgrace in Bulgaria he went to Athens to cover the first Olympic Games and was soon to become very prominent in reporting on the Cretan Uprising, when he demonstrated clear sympathies with the Greek Christian population.

As a consequence of the murder of Stambolov Ferdinand's image severely deteriorated. When Ferdinand came to Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee two years later, Lord Salisbury remarked: 'Now there is a man, but I would not like to be his Prime Minister'.[20] A trial that followed, in Bulgaria, was called a farce by the European Press. Ferdinand had already previously acquired the reputation of an intriguer, of being 'foxy' and feminised, now he was also considered Machiavellian. In the European Press his caricatures often exaggerated his 'Bourbon nose' and took advantage of his passionate interest in ornithology.

After the assassination of Stambolov and the death of the Russian Tsar Alexander III, he had a chance to try for interna-

18 He called them 'Bulgarophone Mahometan Bulgarians'; v. James D. Bourchier, 'The Pomaks of Rhodope', *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 54 (July-December, 1893), p. 509; the same article was later published in Lady Grogan, *The Life of J. D Bourchier*, pp. 247–265.

19 *Lady Grogan, The Life of J. D Bourchier*, p. 49.

20 Sir George Buchanan, *My Mission to Russia* (London: Cassel, 1923), p. 63.

tional recognition. The new Tsar, Nicholas II set him one condition: Ferdinand's son, Boris, was supposed to be admitted to the Orthodox Church. First Ferdinand asked the astonished Pope to permit him his son's admission to the Orthodox Church. The Pope naturally declined to sanction 'spiritual murder'. When he was forced to choose between his son's conversion and his own throne, he decided to yield and his son Boris was confirmed into the Church with General Kutuzov acting as Imperial godfather by proxy. Naturally his decision shocked the whole Catholic world. The Pope announced his so-called 'greater excommunication', but Ferdinand assumed a new role. He started to dream of himself as a new Byzantine Emperor, and did not worry much about Rome. He made a speech to the *Sobranie* (the Bulgarian Parliament) prophesising 'the West has pronounced its anathema on me, the dawn of the East shines its rays on my dynasty and brightens our future'.[21] In March 1896, Ferdinand finally received international confirmation of his rule.

The Macedonian Question

Speaking about the races in Macedonia, Bourchier designated her, in 1911, as 'the principal theatre of the struggle of nationalities in Eastern Europe'. With all races disputing Turkish reversion from Europe, he described the Macedonian question as 'the quintessence of the Near Eastern Question'.[22]

The whole of Macedonia was under Turkish rule at the beginning of the twentieth century. At that time the term Mace-

21 Constant, *Foxy Ferdinand*, p. 178.

22 James David Bourchier, s. v. 'Macedonia', *The Encyclopaedia Britannica,* The Eleventh Edition, vol. 17 (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1911), p. 217, b.

donia included territories of three Turkish vilayets: the whole vilayet of Salonica, the eastern and greater part of the vilayet of Monastir (sanjaks of Monastir, Servia and part of that of Korcha), and the south-eastern part of the vilayet of Kosovo (sanjak of Usküb). It was a region with a population of some 2,200,000 inhabitants. Around 1,300,000 were Christians, 800,000 Muslims and about 75,000 Jews. There were also some minor Christian groups: Uniate Bulgarians (around 3,600) and Bulgarian Protestants (*c*. 2,000).[23]

The dynamism of the region originated from two features: racial propaganda, and the fight of two Macedonian revolutionary movements. After the suppression of the Serbian Patriarchate of Pech (Ipek) in 1766, the Slavs in the Ottoman Empire were left without any national ecclesiastical organisation. Consequently, the traditionally dominant Greek culture was unchallenged in Macedonia until the middle of the nineteenth century. Then the *Bulgarians* started to exercise their cultural influences and, when in 1871 the Sultan recognised an independent Bulgarian Church called Exarchate, the Bulgarians were able to appoint their bishops in some Macedonian towns. Bulgarian propaganda made especially remarkable progress in the period between 1891 and 1898. According to official Bulgarian figures, in 1900 there were 785 Bulgarian schools in Macedonia. *Serbian propaganda* came later and made some progress in the 1890s. At the beginning of 1899 there were 178 Serbian schools in the vilayets of Usküb, Monastir and Salonica. Finally, in 1901, *the Greeks* had 927 Greek schools in the vilayets of Salonica and Monastir.[24] Obviously, the main struggle for cultural and educational influence in Macedonia, at the beginning of the twentieth century, was fought between the Bulgarians and the Greeks.

23 *Ibid*, p. 217, a.

24 *Ibid*, p. 219.

Macedonian Revolutionary Organisations

Following the disturbances in Armenia, Macedonian activists renewed their activity with the open encouragement of the Bulgarian Government of Stoilov. They established, at the end of 1894, their Central Committee in Sofia, and soon started with provocations along the Macedonian boarder, even holding the town of Melnik for several days in 1895. This put the Sofia based movement into the forefront against an indigenous Macedonian organisation. To emphasise their universal pretensions to Macedonia, the Sofia based movement convened the second Macedonian congress and changed its name to the Supreme Macedonian Committee, in 1895. The other organisation was formed in 1893 and was known by 1896 as 'the Bulgarian Macedonian-Adrianople Revolutionary Organisation', changing its title, in 1902, to 'the Secret Macedonian-Adrianople Revolutionary Organisation'. However, it is nowadays mostly known by its last name 'the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation', adopted in 1905, and even more by its acronym IMRO.[25]

The year of 1896 was the year of international recognition of Bulgarian Prince Ferdinand and therefore it was quite a significant year for Macedonia. Stoilov's Government failed to come to agreement with the Greeks on Macedonia and then, it turned to Serbia, signing in February, a secret Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty. In this the Bulgarians recognised the Serbs a part in the settlement of Macedonia. However, the Russo-Austro-Hungarian agreement, in April 1897, to put the Balkans 'on ice' for as long as possible, made it impossible for the Bulgarian Government to help the movement directly. Besides the IMRO was now ascend-

25 It is also known in its Bulgarian form 'VMRO'.

ing, and by 1900, a new Supreme Committee was elected led by Boris Sarafov, who was committed to the IMRO.

For the image of Macedonian revolutionary movements the critical incident was the abduction and ransoming of Miss Ellen Stone, an American missionary in Bulgaria. She was kidnapped in September 1901. She had to arrange ransom for herself and her Bulgarian Protestant friend Katerina Tsilka, amounting to 25,000 Turkish liras. Their captivity lasted 6 months, and produced a furor in the Western Press. Mrs. Tsilka even gave birth to a baby girl during her captivity. Finally the American Missionary Board made a compromise with her abductors and collected 14,000 liras.[26] Although Miss Stone later became an outspoken proponent of the IMRO, her immediate reactions included various stories about abductors, which emphasised the already existing image of Macedonia as a savage country, ruled by brigands. As W. T. Stead put it, speaking about Miss Stone's experience in Macedonian Turkey, revolutionaries and brigands very frequently made 'common case together, as was unquestionably the case in this instance'.[27]

In Britain *The Sunday Magazine* communicated Miss Stone's narrative to its readers, in six successive numbers. *The Sunday Magazine* even published a picture of 'the type of Macedonian brigand' who captured Miss Stone. Resemblance to the image of savages was obvious. Although Miss Stone's narrative is now and then sympathetic with the brigands, the overall picture she offered was less than a favourable one. Speaking of her sorrow when she found out that the American President

26 See: Duncan Perry, *The Politics of Terror. The Macedonian Liberation Movements 1893–1903* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1988), pp. 103–105.

27 *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 25 (January-June 1902), p. 505.

William McKinley was assassinated, she commented on the brigands' behaviour:

> *So little did they care or appreciate my sorrowful feelings, that they would frequently indulge in dances, singing softly to themselves the accompaniment. One Albanian dance was especially weird and grotesque. After the cold weather obliged the brigands to put on their white woollen leggings, they seemed elfish, not human, with their legs suspended spider-like, in the movements of this dance.*[28]

Most of the money collected by the abduction was used by the IMRO to purchase much-needed guns. The IMRO's leadership did not believe in tactics of the Supreme Macedonian Committee who wanted to use incursions of bands (or cheti) into Macedonia and thereby force the Porte to cede autonomy. They had their own plan to instigate a mass uprising, and to create an autonomous Macedonia in that way. Some believed that it should be an introduction to a wider Balkan socialist federation. Ferdinand supported supremacist bands between 1900–1902. He established personal rule in 1896 with considerable control over the Bulgarian army and foreign policy. However, the Bulgarians needed Russian financial help and when in December 1902, the Russian Foreign Minister, Count Lamsdorf visited Belgrade and Sofia, he made it clear to both monarchs that Russia would support neither Serbian nor Bulgarian military actions in Macedonia. Soon the Bulgarian Government had to dissolve its Macedonian organisations in Bulgaria, but this action only gave rise to the

28 Ellen M. Stone, 'In the Grip of the Brigands', *The Sunday Magazine* (June 1902), pp. 485–486. The story was published in seven parts in *The Sunday Magazine's* issues from May till November 1902.

Macedonian Brigands

ILLUSTRATION 5
Herbert Vivian's brigands

ILLUSTRATION 5
Miss Stone's brigand

Type of Macedonian Brigands
who captured Miss Stone

ILLUSTRATION 7
Cover page of
The Sunday Magazine

An anxious moment:
Macedonians hiding from a Turkish patrol

ILLUSTRATION 8
Macedonian refugees

IMRO in Macedonia. Finally, IMRO activists decided, in January 1903, to stage a mass uprising the coming summer. Although they lost their leader, Delchev in May, the uprising started on 2 August, St Elijah's day in Macedonia,[29] and 17 days later in the Adrianople province. However, the insurgents desperately needed help to persist in their fight. Bulgaria was obliged to Russia not to react. For the Serbs and the Greeks this was essentially a pro-Bulgarian movement, and consequently the Ottoman army crushed the uprising with harsh reprisals.[30]

However, many in Europe were afraid of a new war in the Balkans which could become uncontrollable. At that time Bosnia seemed quite peaceful and it was rather Macedonia that seemed to many as a potential source of a European conflict. Ferdinand, with his policy of duplicity over the Macedonian question, was given the image in the European Press of a persistent disturber of European peace, while his counterpart in Serbia, King Alexander, was rather seen as exercising his intentions to ruin parliamentary life in Serbia. These two rulers started to be perceived as 'the bad boys of the Balkans'.

Imagining Macedonia

Prospects of immediate war in Macedonia between the Christian population and the Turks that could affect the whole

29 The insurrection is also known in its Bulgarian form *Ilinden* Uprising.

30 For the full treatment of the Macedonian revolutionary organisation see: Duncan Perry, *The Politics of Terror. The Macedonian Liberation Movements 1893–1903,* and Richard J. Crampton, *Bulgaria 1878–1918. A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), pp. 229–240, 271–286.

of Europe were carefully followed in the British Press, at the beginning of the twentieth century. Public opinion was still divided in Britain, although now less than it had been during Gladstone's Midlothian campaign, at least in terms of condemnation of the misrule. The atrocities of the Turkish army and Albanian irregulars against the Christians of Macedonia provoked general condemnation in Britain. The St. Elijah insurrection of August 1903 only strengthened this mood. As members of the Balkan Committee, Noel Buxton and Charles Roden Buxton, pointed out at the end of the same year: 'Indignation is voiced by public meetings in every part of the country, and by a Press, which is, with very few exceptions, in sympathy with the Macedonian cause'.[31]

Names of the leaders of the Macedonian revolutionaries became familiar to the British public. W. T. Stead openly advertised Macedonian rebels. He wrote a very sympathetic text on one of their leaders Boris Sarafov.[32] Yet, the Buxtons still had to argue in their article against those who found that the Macedonian question was irremediable and that English intervention was not possible. Moreover, it was widely believed 'in some quarters that the population of Macedonia', was 'in the common phrase, "no better than the Turks"'.[33] Noel Brailsford gave an answer why this was so: 'The Slav peasant has no password to the foreigner's heart. He cannot point, like the Greek, to a great

31 Noel Buxton and Charles Roden Buxton, 'Public Opinion and Macedonia', *The Monthly Review*, vol. 13 (December 1903), p. 95.

32 W. T. Stead, 'Boris Sarafoff, the Macedonian Leader', *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 28 (1903), p. 472; Another leader of Macedonian rebels General Tsonchev also published an article in *The Review of Reviews*: 'The Macedonian Question', vol. 29 (1904), pp. 83–84.

33 *Ibid*, p. 97.

past; he cannot boast that his forbears have been your tutors in civilisation... If he is poor he lives in squalor and in dirt... He has been demoralised by dealing with masters who are childish and capricious as well as tyrannical'.[34]

Two prominent Victorian journalists, Dr. Joseph Dillon and James David Bourchier, tried to direct public opinion towards intervention. But as the Buxtons sadly remarked 'the conscious of Europe requires nothing less than a first-class massacre to rouse it'.[35] Perhaps in order to rouse it, both Dillon and Bourchier took every opportunity to emphasise any hints about massacres in Macedonia. But this time the public was more careful than it had been in the late 1870s. The press was ready to condemn but, at the same time, cautious to propose military intervention. Every report on atrocities had to be checked, and many criticised Bourchier and Dillon for exaggerations of atrocities.[36]

The St. Elijah Uprising was crushed but the British Press continued to write about Macedonia, announcing every winter that a war would start the following spring. As late as 1906, Stead had his 'interview of the month', with the Secretary of the Balkan Committee, W. A. Moore, with the characteristic title 'Will there be war in spring?'[37] However, many springs were to

34 H. N. Brailsford, 'The Bulgarians of Macedonia: A Psychological Study', *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 75 (June 1904), p. 1049.

35 Noel Buxton and Charles Roden Buxton, 'Public Opinion and Macedonia', p. 97.

36 See, for instance, the polemics between Dillon and Edward B. Haskell of an American Mission in Macedonia: Edward B. Haskell, 'The Exaggerations of the Macedonian Outrages', *The Spectator*, April 4, 1903, p. 528; Dillon's answers in: *The Spectator*, April 18, 1903, pp. 605–606 and May 16, 1903, p. 779; and Haskell's clarification in *The Spectator*, May 2, 1903, p. 698.

37 W. T. Stead, 'Will There Be War in Spring?', *The Review of Reviews*,

come before the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913. This gave the Balkan states a chance to intensify their propaganda efforts, and to arm bands of irregulars that were constantly sent to Macedonia. A state of permanent interethnic strife became characteristic of Macedonia. Bourchier had to admit in 1905: 'Unhappily the Balkan States are not yet ripe for an amicable arrangement, and their discords seem likely as heretofore to offer a new lease of life to Turkey, and to serve selfish purposes of their great neighbours'.[38]

In the meantime, in Britain, an image was created concerning Macedonia and the Macedonians. Macedonia started to be identified as a country of brigandage. In 1904 Herbert Vivian published a terrifying photo of beheaded Macedonian brigands. About them he wrote:

> *Macedonia is now the headquarters of brigandage, but most of its brigands come over from Bulgaria, where they are organised to pave the way for annexation or autonomy. As there are at least three rival organisations, the brigands are as much at loggerheads with each other as they are with the authorities. They come over in bands and terrorise the whole country, greatly to the discomfiture of the peaceful inhabitants, whom they compel to storm arms and pay tribute.*[39]

Moreover, a dilemma appeared as to whether there was anyone there who deserved British sympathies. Even N. Bra-

vol. 34 (1906), pp. 603–604.

38 James D. Bourchier, 'The Balkan States – Their Attitude Towards the Macedonian Question', p. 88.

39 Herbert Vivian, *The Servian Tragedy with Some Impressions from Macedonia* (London: Grant Richards, 1904), p. 263, see plate No. xvii (the picture is placed between pages 252 and 253).

ilsford, an advocate of Macedonian emancipation, felt obliged to remark:

> *I have tried so far as a European can, to judge both Christians and Turks as tolerantly as possible, remembering divergence that exists between the standards of the Balkans and of Europe. In the land where the peasant ploughs with a rifle on his back, where his rulers govern by virtue of their ability to massacre upon occasion, where Christian Bishops are commonly supposed to organise political murders, life has but a relative value, and assassination no more than a relative guilt. There is little to choose in bloody-mindedness between any of the Balkan races – they are all what centuries of Asiatic rule have made them.*[40]

The associations that an average Briton was able to get from the British Press about Macedonia included: bombs, assassinations, brigands, terror, and abductions. If some prominent Britons, even after this image of Macedonia had been created, still had some sympathies for the Macedonian Slavs, then one can explain this only through feelings of compassion for their fellow Christians living under the Ottoman yoke, a feeling common in Britain after the Midlothian campaign.

King Alexander Obrenovich

> *In his thirteenth year he was made King of one of the most difficult countries in the world, abandoned by both his*

40 H. N. Brailsford, *Macedonia Its Races and their Future* (London: Methuen & Co., 1906), p. xi.

> *parents, delivered into the hand of cynical men, without proper moral education, thought to distrust everyone, or rather to hate everyone.*[41]

This is how C. Miyatovich, the personal friend of Alexander's father Milan, described the position of the young King when he came to the throne of Serbia. The situation was not easy indeed. King Milan suddenly decided to abdicate in 1889. He was bored by Serbia, perhaps even disgusted. Like Prince Ferdinand he preferred being in Paris and Vienna. But, besides sexual outlets he also liked gambling. Now he was also in love with a Greek woman. To make himself free and to be able to dedicate himself to his new love, he had first to divorce. Since his son was abroad with his mother, Milan sent a general to bring the boy back and to persuade the Queen to accept official separation. The Queen was stubborn but it made Milan no less determined. He forcibly took Alexander from Wiesbaden, thus scandalising Europe, and involving even Bismarck who intervened in his favour by sending his police to take Alexander from Natalie. Now he only had to arrange his divorce and soon the Metropolitan Theodosius signed a divorce decree, though the legality of it was dubious. Milan also appointed a committee to draft a new constitution, and in December 1888 (in January according to N.S.) Serbia got a very liberal constitution, and he finally abdicated in March 1889, leaving Serbia immediately.

The years to come were filled with the struggle between Ex-King Milan and Queen Natalie, and most of Serbia's political energy was spent in this dispute. Milan even returned to Belgrade in 1891, demanding a sum of six million francs, offering in exchange to leave Serbia. Eventually, he got half the sum, but

41 Chedomille Mijatovich, *A Royal Tragedy Being the Story of the Assassination of King Alexander and Queen Draga* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1906), p. vi.

he had to sign a contract saying that he renounced his rights both as a member of the royal family and as a citizen of Serbia. The Russians immediately agreed to cover Milan's expenses, just in order to get rid of their Germanophilic adversary.

However, in April 1893, 16-year old Alexander demonstrated quite extraordinary abilities for his age. He invited his ministers and regents to dinner in the royal palace and amused them for a while, telling them when the main course was served that he wanted to thank them for their services and to inform them that he was proclaiming himself of age and taking royal authority into his hands. Some thought it was a joke, but when soldiers appeared with bayonets they realised that Alexander had outsmarted them by organising his first coup. Soon, Milan came back again in January 1894, provoking Tsar Alexander III to call him 'that animal'. However, from 1895 till the autumn of 1897 Natalie regained influence over Alexander, but it was for the last time. When Milan returned, in 1897, he became a General and the Commander of the Serbian army. In July 1899, on the feast of St. John, an unsuccessful attempt was made to kill Milan and he organised a show trial. The Foreign Press, having just been through with Dreyfus rehabilitation in France, had become increasingly sensitive to political trials. As a consequence of this 'the reputation of Serbian justice and the already shaken reputation of the Obrenovic dynasty suffered greatly, both in Serbia and abroad'.[42] W. T. Stead commented: 'An occasional attempt at assassination appears to be regarded as within the rules of the game in Servia',[43] and Mrs. F. N. Wilson summarised British opinion of Milan during his last years: 'The venom of political

42 Michael Boro Petrovich, *A History of Modern Serbia* (New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich), vol. II, p. 479.

43 *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 20 (1899), p. 123.

intrigue has poisoned his name, so that at one time it was no uncommon thing for people in England and abroad to speak of the "infamous King Milan".[44]

Although Alexander achieved some successes during his reign, the most notable being penetration of Serbian propaganda into Macedonia, his ten years of reign were filled with various scandals. In this relatively short period he succeeded in making four coups, and in changing three constitutions and twelve governments. Not surprisingly, Serbia enjoyed an image of an unstable and comic country.

However, the worst matter for the reputation of the Kingdom of Serbia was only to come. Alexander decided to marry the previous lady-in-waiting of his mother. Draga was at least nine years older than he and a widow. With a father who had ended up in an insane asylum, and a mother who was alcoholic, and with substantial doubts that she could have children, she was the worst possible choice for Alexander. The very decision to marry her was a scandal and even Milan, not very concerned about ethics, resigned his post as the commanding General of the Serbian army. W. T. Stead commented on the news of Alexander's marriage: 'It will probably be found in an examination of the history of Europe that love affairs have been more fatal to monarchs than the dagger or the revolver of the assassin. The Obrenovitches of Servia are singularly unfortunate in this respect'.[45] Although it was widely believed that she was not capable of delivering a baby, when her pregnancy was announced in August 1900, everyone believed it, and the King was delighted. However, April of 1901 was approaching but with no

44 Mrs. Northesk Wilson, *Belgrade the White City of Death. Being the History of King Alexander and of Queen Draga* (London: R. A. Everett & Co. Ltd., 1903), p. 38.

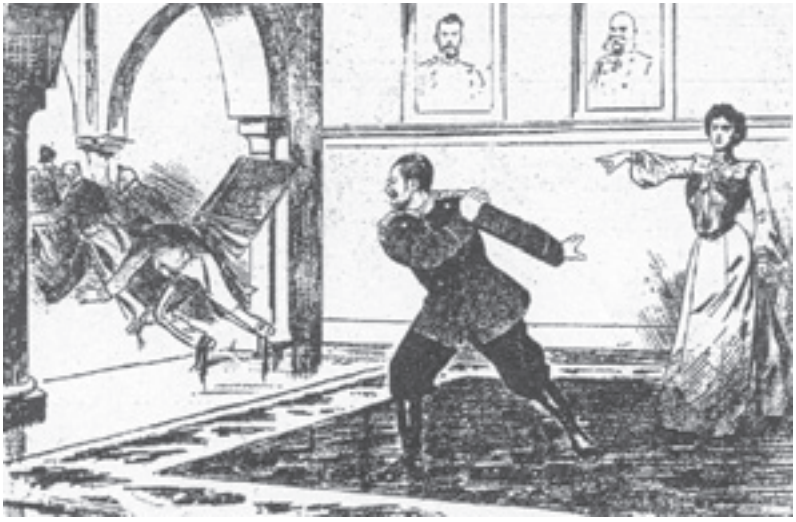
45 *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 22 (1900), p. 109.

ILLUSTRATION 9
The Berlin Treaty
twenty-five years later seen by
The Review of Reviews

ILLUSTRATION 10
Elodie Lawton Miyatovich

ILLUSTRATION 11

King Alexander of Serbia supported by Queen Draga while organising another coup the 'état



Amsterdammer.] [April 19.

A One-day Revolution

QUEEN DRAGA OF SERVIA: "Make short work of them, Alexander. The enemies of our dynasty are the enemies of our land."

ILLUSTRATION 12

King Alexander and Queen Draga

signs of delivery. The Russian Government sent a doctor and he immediately realised that Draga's pregnancy had been faked. It was officially announced that the Queen had 'all the symptoms that usually follow pregnancy', and that 'these symptoms indeed often get the kind of character so that neither the interested person nor her surroundings can doubt the veracity of the pregnancy'.[46]

The Serbian Press had to remain silent about the affair. However, Draga's case turned into a European scandal. The European Press was full of comments, both in verses and prose, and, of course, in pictures (caricatures). Even expert reports of doctors were published. The image of the Queen as an adulteress and the King as an idiot was created in the European Press. As S. Yovanovich pointed out 'the Serbian state, with the kind of royal couple that Alexander and Draga were, appeared to be the last among states whose history did not differ from a scandalous chronicle'.[47] This image was carefully fostered in the German and Austro-Hungarian Press. The British Press was calmer in this respect.[48]

After this, Alexander thought that the only way out of this scandal was to arrange a Russian Imperial reception for his wife and himself. In order to achieve this objective he even directed the foreign policy of Serbia completely towards Russia. However, the Russian Imperial Court endlessly postponed the reception. Contemporaries knew this and it became another favourite topic in the European satirical Press.

46 Слободан Јовановић, *Влада краља Александра Обреновића*, сабрана дела, том 12, Геца Кон, Београд 1936, том III, p. 126 [Slobodan Yovanovich, *Vlada Kralya Aleksandra Obrenovicha* (Collected works, vol. 12, Belgrade: Geca Kon, 1936), vol. III, p. 126].

47 *Ibid*, p. 129.

48 Cf. *The Times*, May 20, 1901, p. 7 f ('Servia'). The article calls the affair a 'delicate matter', without specifying what the whole thing is about.

Soon, Russian diplomacy clearly informed Alexander that Russia could not wait much longer and that the question of appointing an heir to the throne must soon be settled. Rumours started in Belgrade that Alexander planned to appoint Draga's brother as an heir. These rumours only hastened his tragic end.

The May Coup

> *Servia seethes with conspiracy. It is its normal condition. The little Kingdom lying between Austria and Russia, with rival dynasties and unsatisfied ambitions, is one of the most politically feverish centres in Europe. In Servia assassination has long been regarded as one of the natural and almost necessary political methods.*[49]

When W. T. Stead wrote this in 1899 he could not have known that his words were prophecy. Only two years later a group of junior Serbian officers started to plot to kill Alexander Obrenovich. They were embarrassed by the King's decision to marry a woman of dubious background and considered Alexander as not capable of fulfilling Serbian historical mission to liberate the Serbs living under the Ottoman yoke. The prospects of hated Draga's brother being future King just outraged them more.

The conspirators were encouraged by the assassination of the American President William McKinley in September 1901. They tried to organise an assassination twice in 1901 but their plans failed. Still, the number of conspirators grew, and by 1903

49 W. T. Stead, 'Character Sketch. Ex-King Milan of Servia', *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 20 (1899), p. 138.

it reached 120, mostly officers. Several politicians joined the plot as well. Russian and Austro-Hungarian Ministers certainly had some hints about the conspiracy. However, the Russian Minister, Charykov, was given an order by his Foreign Minister Lamsdorf during his visit to Serbia in December 1902, 'not to meddle with the internal affairs of Serbia'. Charykov later commented that neither Lamsdorf nor he knew that 'this order was the death-warrant of King Alexander and Queen Draga'.[50] Be that as it may, he was not eager to warn Alexander. On the other hand, Alexander's sudden shifts in foreign policy between St. Petersburg and Vienna made the Austrians very cautious as well. In such circumstances he was left to himself. Still, Alexander must have felt that something was going on, especially because it seems that he even transferred 'large sums of money' to English banks.[51] The British Minister in Belgrade, Bonham, reported in January 1902 that the Serbian Army was not reliable any more. He noticed that Alexander Obrenovich had estranged himself from the army which had always been of key significance for the Obrenovich dynasty.[52] What was to happen to King Alexander was similar to the misfortune of many tyrants. As Roman Emperor Domitian once claimed: 'the lot of all Emperors is necessarily wretched, since only their assassination can convince the public that the conspiracies against their lives are real'.[53] Apparently, Alexander was warned in advance by his police that a plot had been organised, but top army men refused to believe

50 N. V. Tcharykow, *Glimpses of High Politics. Through War and Peace 1855–1929* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1931), p. 234.

51 N. Wilson, *Belgrade the White City of Death,* p. 91.

52 FO 105/64/102.

53 Gaii Suetonii Tranquilli *Domitianus*, 21; English translation quoted from: Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, *The Twelve Caesars*, translated by Robert Graves (London: Penguin, 1989), p. 313.

that army officers could be implicated in a plot against their sovereign. Therefore no decisive action was undertaken.

The conspirators decided to assassinate the royal couple in the early hours of 29 May (11 June, N.S.). It was an ominous date when 35 years earlier Prince Michael Obrenovich had been killed, although the conspirators may not have been aware of this fact. The command of the coup was entrusted to forcibly retired Colonel Alexander Mashin, brother of Queen Draga's first husband, an able officer of Czech origin. The conspirators entered the royal palace at 2.00 a.m. and searched it for some two hours but in vain. The Russian Legation was just opposite the Royal Palace, and Russian Minister Charykov witnessed what followed, refraining himself from any action:

> *Suddenly a window was opened in the lower story of the Palace facing the street, and we heard the Queen's voice calling to the soldiers outside for help. We also heard one of them answer, 'Fear nothing, Majesty'. This showed the conspirators where the Royal couple had taken refuge... The conspirators rushed in and shot down the King, who had no arms and was standing in front of the Queen to shield her with body. The Queen was also shot, and then horribly mutilated by the swords of the conspirators. About an hour later the same window was opened again, and the bodies of the King and Queen, wrapped in the window-curtains, were thrown out into the garden.*[54]

The list of others killed that night included: Draga's two brothers, the Premier, the War Minister, the Commander of the Danube Division and various palace guards. Several conspirators

54 N. V. Tcharykow, *Glimpses of High Politics*, pp. 235–236.

were killed as well. Altogether some fourteen people were killed from both sides.[55]

King's Milan death in voluntary exile, in Vienna, in January 1901, and the murder of Alexander eradicated completely the dynasty of Obrenovich that had ruled Serbia some seven decades. Serbia needed a new ruler. The conspirators were previously able to find out that a Russian, and especially a Montenegrin prince, would not be acceptable to Austria-Hungary while a German candidate would not be welcomed by Russia. A domestic candidate seemed to be the best solution, and there was only one suitable figure: Prince Peter, the grandson of the leader of the first Serbian Uprising Karageorge. The assembled troops, in front of the dead royal bodies, were induced to shout: 'Long live King Peter Karageorgevich'.[56]

Within the conspirators there were two groups: younger and older conspirators. The leader of the younger group was Dragutin Dimitriyevich Apis, later notorious for his complicity in the Sarajevo Assassination. Soon after the Coup, he became the *éminence grise* of political life in Serbia. MacKenzie, biographer of Apis, finds that the May Coup was 'apparently the only successful coup in modern European history organized and led by junior officers'.[57] Moreover for him it 'had perhaps the most far-reaching and generally positive results of any such takeover in modern European history'.[58] However, such a positive char-

55 Cf. Constantin Dumba, *Memoirs of a Diplomat* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1933), p. 113.

56 The best, and least biased, treatment of the May Coup was given in Serbian by Slobodan Yovanovich: S. Yovanovich, *Vlada Kralya Aleksandra Obrenovicha*. The most recent studies in English are already quoted works of David MacKenzie. A very detailed account is also given in: Constantin Dumba, *Memoirs of a Diplomat*.

57 Mackenzie, *Serbs and Russians*, p. 135.

58 *Ibid*, p. 321.

acterisation of the May Coup is far from being generally accepted in historiography. Even in Serbian historiography the influence of the conspirators after the May Coup was severely criticised.[59]

59 Voyislav Y. Vuchkovich, 'Unutrashnye krize Srbiye...'; Dragolyub Zhivoyinovich, *Kraly Petar*; for later developments regarding conflict between Serbian civilian authorities and the younger conspirators who founded a secret organisation called the Black Hand in 1911 see: Dusan T. Batakovic, 'La "Main noire" (1911–1917) l'armee serbe entre democratie et autoritarisme', *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, 2 (1998).

CHAPTER 3

BRITISH OFFICIAL PERCEPTIONS

Reactions to the May Coup

It is difficult even now to estimate the scope of foreign complicity in the conspiracy. Henry Wickham Steed learned in Vienna that von Kállay, Austrian administrator of Bosnia and Herzegovina, knew about preparations for the conspiracy, thanks to 'a Hungarian Under Secretary of State in the Bosnian Administration who attended the meetings of a Vienna section of the conspirators at the Café Imperial on the Ringstrasse'.[1] From the other side, if Russian Minister Charykov really did not know anything about the conspiracy, then why had the Russians dispatched a special agent to protect Alexander's life?[2] One of the civilian leaders of the conspiracy, a former minister Dyordye Genchich, made several trips to Vienna in the course of 1902 and early 1903 to inquire about Russian and Austro-Hungarian attitudes about a possible change of the dynasty in Serbia. He talked with Dumba, who later became Austro-Hungarian Minister in Belgrade (from February 1903 till May 1905), and with

1 Henry Wickham Steed, *Through Thirty Years 1892–1922. A Personal Narrative* (2 vols. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1924), vol. 1, p. 204.

2 Wayne Vucinich, *Serbia Between East and West*, p. 76.

the Russian Ambassador in Vienna, Count Kapnist.[3] He spoke in general terms without mentioning the conspiracy, but diplomats in Vienna must have noticed his frequent trips.

Yet, if one cannot definitely confirm Austro-Hungarian and Russian complicity, it is quite certain that the British Minister, Sir George Bonham, had not the slightest idea of what was going on. Sir Charles Hardinge, who at that time was an Assistant Under Secretary, was particularly upset by this fact. 'How can a man', he ironically asked, 'who is stone deaf hear what is going on? People do not shout out this sort of thing down an ear-trumpet or into a man's deaf ear'.[4] Other foreign diplomats were also unaware of any conspiracy. Some even linked the assassination to the Macedonian revolutionary movement.[5]

British Official Perceptions

Political assassination was, at that time, in no way an event restricted to Serbia. V. Dedijer gives a list of major political assassinations from 1792 till 1914. It includes 89 names. In the period between 1893 and 1902 alone some 15 prominent figures were killed, including five presidents and three crowned heads.[6] What was specific in the Belgrade Assassination was the dis-

3 *Ibid*, p. 50.

4 Bertie Papers, Hardinge to Bertie, 15 June 1903, Private, PRO FO 800/173.

5 Wayne Vucinich, *Serbia Between East and West*, p. 75.

6 Vladimir Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo* (London: Macgibbon & Kee, 1967), pp. 449–451. The list of fifteen killed persons, in a decade before the May Coup, includes: Carnot, President of France, Cánovas del Castillo, Prime Minister of Spain, Presidents of the United States, Uruguay, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic, the Shah of Persia, King Umberto of Italy, and Empress Elizabeth of Austria.

gusting way in which the conspirators killed the royal couple. Even more peculiar, at least by European standards, was the fact that some of the conspirators entered the new Government. Actually, out of ten members of the Provisional Government, four were conspirators.[7] Bonham saw the list of the new members of the Serbian Government immediately on the morning of 11 June. The list included Genchich, 'a well-known conspirator', and Mashin, 'one of the actual murderers'. In his opinion this made it impossible to believe that any one of the new ministers was unaware of the plot.[8] This struck Lansdowne, who made the following remark: 'This matter strongly against the recognition of the new gov[ernmen]t'.[9]

At the time of the May Coup Britain was governed by a Unionist Cabinet. The Prime Minister, from July 1902 till December 1905, was Arthur James Balfour, and the Foreign Secretary was the Marquis of Lansdowne. The latter possessed 'an aristocratic and imperial "Britishness"', embodied in distant areas of India and Canada, and was hostile to local nationalisms.[10] A bunch of the regicides celebrating their 'patriotic' deed must have been utterly revolting to the Marquis. Britain was quick to formulate her policy towards the new Serbian Government. Arthur James Balfour announced in the House of Commons, on 15 June, that the British Minister to Serbia was accredited only to King Alexander, and with the latter's death diplomatic relations between the two countries had come to an end. The

7 Wayne Vucinich, *Serbia Between East and West*, p. 60.

8 Bonham to Lansdowne, 17 June 1903, No. 106 Confidential, PRO FO 105/157.

9 Radovich, *Aftermath*, p. 24; Lansdowne's minute on Bonham to Lansdowne, 17 June 1903, Tel. No. 24, PRO FO 105–157.

10 Keith Robbins, '"Experiencing the Foreign": British Foreign Policy Makers and the Delights of Travel', in Michael Dockrill and Brian McKercher (eds.), *Diplomacy and World Power* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), p. 22.

relations, he remarked, had terminated of themselves.[11] Lansdowne, responding to Lord Newton's speech in the House of Lords, said on 19 June '... nothing is further from our thought than to maintain what he spoke of as ordinary relations with persons who were implicated in these events'.[12] In reply to a note from the Russian ambassador, Count Benckendorff, Lansdowne stated that his Government was *in no hurry* to recognise either a new Serbian government or a new Serbian king.[13] Lansdowne, moreover, proposed that all foreign envoys should be removed from Belgrade. But his appeal for such a joint demonstration by the Great Powers evoked little response.[14] After this failure Lansdowne soon instructed the British Minister to leave Belgrade before Prince Peter arrived from Geneva. Vice-Consul Wilfred Thesiger was to take charge of the British Legation, [15] and Bonham left Belgrade on 21 June. The only other minister who was permanently withdrawn from Belgrade was the Dutch Minister.[16]

The Russian and Austro-Hungarian position was softer. As soon as conditions appeared to be normal they accepted the change of Government as *fait accompli*. Already on 12 June, Austro-Hungarian and Russian Foreign Ministers, Goluchowski and Lamsdorf communicated and concluded that the ending of the Provisional Government and the recognition of Peter Karageorgevich would be the 'relatively lesser evil'.[17] The Austro-

11 *Great Britain, 4 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* CXXIII (1903), p. 946.

12 *Ibid*, p. 1416.

13 Lansdowne Papers, Lansdowne to Benckendorff, 15 June 1903, Copy, PRO FO 800/140.

14 MacKenzie, *Serbs and Russians*, p. 327.

15 *Ibid*, p. 328.

16 Wayne Vucinich, *Serbia Between East and West*, p. 80.

17 *Ibid*, p. 79.

Hungarian Minister Dumba will later summarise: 'In view of the great interests which Austria-Hungary had in Serbia, moral considerations had to take a back seat'.[18] Sir Francis Plunkett, the British Ambassador at Vienna was struck by the extraordinary calmness of the press and Government concerning the May Coup, although he was aware that the late Serbian royal couple was not very popular in Vienna. Plunkett was even able to perceive a degree of admiration for the conspirators in Vienna because they had so completely exterminated the Obrenovich and Lunyevitsa families, that the chances for future dynastic strife were reduced.[19] Yet he soon rejected information about Austro-Hungarian complicity. Their principal anxiety was to refrain from any steps which would lead to domestic turmoil in Serbia, and therefore they initially proclaimed the Belgrade slayings '... perhaps with indiscreet bluntness... (as) an internal matter which primarily concerned the Servian people themselves'. Later, as the brutal fact became known, public and official opinion in the Empire assumed an appropriate response. Plunkett also noticed how undesirable it was for the Monarchy to do anything that would imperil the election of Prince Peter, whom the Austrian Government regarded as an acceptable candidate for the Serbian throne. Plunkett also turned his attention to an article of *The Times* (16 June) advocating an Austrian military occupation of Belgrade as a sign of its disapproval of the gruesome and bloody deeds. He commented that an Austrian occupation of Belgrade:

> *...would doubtless have incensed Russia, who, as we have reason to know, had already taken umbrage at the*

18 Dumba, *Memoirs of a Diplomat*, p. 116.

19 Radovich, *Aftermath,* p. 38; Plunkett to Lansdowne, 12 June 1903, No. 158, PRO FO 105/157.

mere fact that Austria-Hungary moved a few men-of-war from Smyrna to Salonica to protect her numerous subjects at that port from the effects which were feared after the Bulgarian explosions.[20]

Wickham Steed noticed in his memoirs that 'it was not only in Belgrade that cynical indifference to the crime was shown. On the morrow of the murders, the *Fremdenblatt*, official organ of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office, published an article arguing that though the bloodshed was deplorable, the Balkans were a bloody region and that it mattered little who reigned in Serbia provided he were on good terms with Austria-Hungary'.[21] Moreover when King Peter passed through Vienna, on his way to Belgrade, from Geneva, a crowd of Serbs and Croats was allowed to welcome him and to cheer him not only as King of Serbia but as King of Croatia as well, which was part of Austria-Hungary. Steed commented: 'Had not the Austro-Hungarian Government believed that King Peter would be its obedient puppet, no such demonstration would have been tolerated. It turned against him when it realized, two years later, that he was devoted to Serbia and Serbia alone'.[22]

For the image of the new Serbian King in the Foreign Office a huge dossier entitled 'The Karageorgevitch Family 1868 to 1903'[23] was of key importance. It was compiled at the Foreign

20 Radovich, *Aftermath*, pp. 39–40; Plunkett to Lansdowne, 18 June 1903, No. 168 Confidential, PRO FO 7/1339.

21 Henry Wickham Steed, *Through Thirty Years*, p. 206.

22 *Ibid*, p. 206.

23 PRO FO 105/152; cf. Филис Оти, ,,Необјављени документи енглеског министраства о Србији', *Историјски часопис* [Phyllis Auty, 'Neobyavlyeni dokumenti engleskog ministarstva o Srbiyi', *Istoriyski Chasopis*, Belgrade, vol. 12–13 (1963), p. 438].

Office immediately upon learning of the assassination. The dossier included incriminating details of Peter's complicity in the murder of Prince Michael Obrenovich in 1868. Reports from British representatives in Vienna especially suggested such complicity.[24] By 1883 Sir Henry Elliot was claiming that Prince Peter's '... complicity in the assassination of the late Prince (Michael) is scarcely a matter of doubt ...'[25] These claims must have shaken any belief in Peter's innocence in the May Coup and a favourable report from Sir Conyngham Greene in Switzerland exonerating the Prince of complicity in the conspiracy could hardly have seemed convincing. Greene merely confirmed that the Swiss Government had no information connecting Prince Karageorgevich with the conspiracy.

As far as the personal qualities of the new Serbian King were concerned, the British Consul-General in Belgrade, Thesiger, who was not at all prejudicial about the new King got the impression '...of a thoroughly honourable man, of a gentleman in every sense of the word, but of no exceptional strength of character'.[26] And this was the best that Lansdowne might have read about Peter. Especially damaging for King Peter's reputation was a letter written by the British Minister in Montenegro, Kennedy, who concluded about the new King:

> *Prince, or rather, King Peter is clever and plausible, but timid and unscrupulous—in plain words he is a*

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24 Bloomfield to Stanley, 30 June 1868, No. 123, PRO FO 105/152; Bloomfield to Stanley, 7 July 1868, No. 131, PRO FO 105/152; and Bonar to Stanley, 16 October 1868, No. 152, PRO FO 105/152.

25 Radovich, *Aftermath,* p. 44; Elliot to Granville, 18 June 1883, No. 177 Confidential, PRO FO 105/152.

26 Radovich, *Aftermath,* p. 45; Thesiger to Lansdowne, 2 July 1903, No. 125, PRO FO 105/149; and Lansdowne Papers, Lord Brooke to Lansdowne, 29 June 1903, PRO FO 800/142.

> *cunning cheat, a liar, and a coward. His own brother-in-law, the Crown Prince of Montenegro, has spoken of him to me in those terms. He is thoroughly Russian in his sympathies, as he and his family owe everything to Russian patronage and protection... but he always seemed to keep on good terms with the Austrians.*[27]

Accumulated information that became available over time must have strengthened suspicions in Lansdowne's mind not only about the involvement of King Peter in the conspiracy, but also about the complicity of the Russian Government in the plot to remove King Alexander. This along with news about unstable internal conditions in Serbia reduced chances that the British Government would take steps leading to a rapid renewal of diplomatic relations with Serbia.[28]

The British terms were vital for a renewal of diplomatic relations with Serbia. In Serbia, it was not quite clear what they included. Even in Italy, British terms were misunderstood. So, in April 1904, Sir Francis Bertie, British Ambassador to Italy wrote that the Italians believed that the British Government was holding out '... for the punishment of the guilty before renewing diplomatic relations with Servia whereas what the Italian Government required was the removal from the Court of King Peter of all officers connected with the plot'.[29] However, the British Government itself never stipulated such a requirement, knowing that such a demand would not be acceptable for the Serbian King and Government. Soon, after Balfour had announced the suspension of the Anglo-Serbian diplomatic relations, questions were

27 Radovich, *Aftermath*, p. 46; Lansdowne Papers, Kennedy to Lansdowne, 18 June 1903, Confidential, PRO FO 800/142.

28 Radovich, *Aftermath,* pp. 46–47.

29 *Ibid*, p. 54; Bertie to Lansdowne, 21 April 1904, No. 55, PRO FO 105/158.

raised in Parliament as to whether the British Government would require punishment of the Serbian regicides as a prerequisite for the renewal of diplomatic relations with Serbia. Balfour gave an ambiguous answer. He concluded: 'We have taken our line in the matter'.[30] But, Lord Lansdowne was quite clear when, on 19 June, he declared:

> *I am not quite sure whether I understood (Lord Newton) to suggest that it was our duty to concert with other Powers measures of a punitive character directed against the authors of these outrages. My Lords, no proposal of that kind has been made to us, nor, I conceive, could we usefully have made such a proposal to other Powers...*[31]

Lansdowne found out from Lord Brooke, who was on a short tour in the Balkans at the time of the May Coup, and who interviewed King Peter in June, that the King had at first intended to punish the assassins, but that upon his arrival in Belgrade he realised the effect of such an action would be civil war, and therefore he abandoned his intentions to punish the guilty officers.[32]

British official and popular reaction can be gleaned from the reactions that the Serbian Minister in London, Chedomille Miyatovich was facing. He received threatening letters and faced such contempt that he resigned his post. The daughter of his

30 *Great Britain, 4 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* CXXIV (1903), p. 65.

31 *Great Britain*, *4 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* CXXIII, (1903), pp. 1416–1417; cf. Wayne Vucinich, Serbia Between East and West, p. 77.

32 Lansdowne Papers, Lord Brooke to Lansdowne, 29 June 1903, PRO FO 800/142; and Thesiger to Lansdowne, 2 July 1903, No. 125, PRO FO 105/149.

successor, Lena Yovichich, who wrote a biography of her father, described the obstacles that Miyatovich and her father faced in London:

> *Since the news of the Obrenovitch tragedy had been received he (Miyatovich) met with the cold shoulder wherever he went. Official doors were suddenly closed, and the circumstances of the murder put a strain even on personal friendship... To mention Serbia was enough to raise a wall of prejudice; English people could have no association with a race who had murdered their King. Every one of Serbian decent must be made to feel responsible for that terrible deed. They were beyond the pale of a Society whose principles were irreproachable; with the best of intentions Englishmen never lost an opportunity to proclaim the fact that moral feelings were very high in their country, that what had happened in Serbia could not be condoned and must be expiated by the entire nation.*[33]

After Miyatovich's resignation the Serbian Government appointed, in July 1903, Alexander Yovichich as Chargé d'Affaires. However, the British Government refused to accept his credentials. Yovichich was accepted only as the Consul-General. This status did not include regular diplomatic relations. Yovichich soon received a clear explanation of British terms from Foreign Office functionaries. He reported to Belgrade that: '... so long as the officers who were compromised by the events of 29 May (11 June) of last year are found in the direct company of His Majesty King Peter and in the most important

33 Lena A. Yovitchitch, *The Biography of a Serbian Diplomat* (London: The Epworth Press, 1939), pp. 190–191.

state posts, then Great Britain will not join into regular relations with us'.[34]

Certainly, the main reason for the British Government to continue the disruption of diplomatic relations with Serbia were contained in Thesiger's observations. According to his reports, a power struggle in the army as a result of the dynastic change had begun almost immediately after King Alexander's assassination. This meant the possibility of a counter-revolution. Additionally, the probable complicity of both King Peter and Russia in the assassination conspiracy, and the uncertain future of his dynasty in Serbia, were obstacles for an early recognition of his position to the British Government and King. Thesiger immediately informed the British Foreign Secretary about the campaign to obtain signatures on a memorial to be presented to the King.[35] The memorial requested the dismissal of the regicide officers from their positions and the trial of these same officers before a court martial. Thesiger commented specifically upon the 'strong probability' of the counter-conspirators '... taking the law into their own hands', and of their determination '... to break the power of the committee (of regicide officers) at any cost'.[36] In the following months Thesiger on at least four occasions expres-

34 Quoted in Radovich, *Aftermath*, p. 60; Yovichich to Nikolich, 16/29 January 1904, unnumbered but marked Personal and Strictly Confidential, DASIP 1904 I/9, Pov. Br. 119. (this is the old numeration, the new would be AS instead of DASIP).

35 See the article by Božin Simić (Marco), 'Srpska vojska pre i posle 29. maja 1903 (Uticaj zaverenika na politiku predratne Srbije)', *Nova Evropa* XVI (11 July 1927); Thesiger to Lansdowne, 10 September 1903, No. 152, PRO FO 105/149.

36 Radovich, *Aftermath,* p, 70; Thesiger to Lansdowne, 20 August 1903, No. 144, PRO FO 105/149; also Thesiger to Lansdowne, 2 September 1903, No. 150, PRO FO 105/158.

sed confidence about the ultimate success of the anti-regicide forces. The army dispute, he wrote, was spreading throughout society and was encompassing civilian supporters.[37]

The reports of domestic instability in Serbia no doubt darkened the prospects for a rapid renewal of Anglo-Serbian relations. The prospects that the rule of the regicides might be replaced by officers faithful to the oath that they had given to their late King encouraged the British Government to wait.

King Edward and Diplomatic Relations with Serbia

There is a widespread belief in both Anglo-Saxon and Serbian historiographies that King Edward was instrumental in the decision of Britain to break diplomatic relations with Serbia. Moreover, it is believed that it was due to his influence that diplomatic relations were not resumed until 1906. In this sense Wayne Vucinich mentions: 'The intransigence of King Edward VII and of certain elements in Serbia regarding the regicides was blamed for the unclosed breach between Serbia and England'.[38] Serbian historiography is even more direct in blaming King Edward. Both Aleksich-Peykovich and Zhivoyinovich attributed continuation of the disrupt relation to 'the stubbornness of King Edward'.[39]

37 Radovich, *Aftermath*, p. 70; Thesiger to Lansdowne, 10 September 1903, No. 152, PRO FO 105/149, and Thesiger to Lansdowne, 1 October 1903, No. 159, PRO FO 105/149.

38 Wayne Vucinich, *Serbia Between East and West*, p. 97.

39 Lyilyana Aleksich-Peykovich, *Odnosi Srbiye sa Frantsuskom i Engleskom*, pp. 61–62; Dragolyub Zhivoyinovich, *Kraly Petar Karageorgevich*, vol. II, p. 224; MacKenzie follows Serbian historiography in attributing policy of non-recognition to 'King Edward's stubbornness'. David MacKenzie, *Serbs and Russians*, p. 331.

The person responsible for the initiation of this line of argument is Chedomille Miyatovich. Edward Legge, biographer of King Edward, received from his 'distinguished friend' Miyatovich a letter giving details of an important meeting that took place in summer of 1905, between King Edward and Russian and Italian Ambassadors:

> *Dear Mr. Legge* *(London, June 21, 1912)*
>
> *...You know that after the cruel assassination of King Alexander and Queen Draga (in 1903, June 2)*[40] *England broke off her diplomatic relation with Servia... I myself, living in London, tried as much as I could, unofficially, to prepare the way for that diplomatic reconciliation. But all in vain. As King Peter was rather a persona grata with the Tsar of Russia, and as he was brother-in-law of Queen Helena of Italy, both the Russian and the Italian Ambassadors in London received instructions to exercise their influence with the British Government in favour of a speedy re-establishment of the diplomatic relations with Servia.*
>
> *But their representations at the Foreign Office were not successful. It would seem that those two Ambassadors got a hint that the true difficulty lay with King Edward. Anyhow both Count Benckendorff and Signor Pansa received orders to ask together a special audience from King Edward. He received them in Windsor and listened patiently to their representations, at the end of which he spoke à peu prés in these terms: 'I regret very much indeed that I cannot comply with your suggestions. The assassination of King Alexander and Queen Draga was so terrible that*

40 This is erratum. The assassination took place on 11 June 1903 (29 May 1903, O. S.).

> *it made a deep impression on public opinion in England... And, besides this reason, I have another, and so to say, a personal reason. Mon métier à moi est d'être Roi. King Alexander was also by his métier ''un Roi''. As you see, we belonged to the same guild as labourers or professional men. I cannot be indifferent to the assassination of a member of my profession, or, if you like, a member of my guild. We should be obliged to shut up our businesses if we, the kings, were to consider the assassination of kings as of no consequence at all...'*[41]

It is not surprising that after Legge's biography, two other British biographers of King Edward VII followed the same pattern. Sidney Lee and Philip Magnus simply reiterated Miyatovich's narrative as published in Legge's book.[42]

Yet after the initial negative attitude of Britain, both the Serbian Government and the King hoped that relations would soon be re-established. The new Serbian King sent a telegram on 25 June, to King Edward announcing the decision of the Serbian parliament to elect him 'unanimously' to be the new King of Serbia:

> *Je suis heureux de pouvoir annoncer à votre Majesté que le peuple Serbe, par la voix unanime de ses représentants légaux, m'ayant élu Roi de Serbie, j'ai considéré comme un devoir envers ma patrie de répondre à cet appel. Ayant preté le serment Constitutionnel devant*

41 Edward Legge, *King Edward in his True Colours* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1912), pp. 81–82; Miyatovich repeated the same in his *Memoirs of a Balkan Diplomatist*, p. 137.

42 Sidney Lee, *King Edward VII: A Biography* (2 vols., London: Macmillan & Co., 1927), II, pp. 270–271; Philip Magnus, *King Edward the Seventh* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1964), p. 341.

la Représentation Nationale, j'ai pris aujourd'hui le pouvoir Royal et le titre de Roi de Serbie. Confiant dans l'auguste bienveillance de votre Majesté et dans ses sympathies envers la Serbie, je me plais à espérer qu'elle fera bon accueil à l'annonce de cet événement.

After several days, on 30 June, King Edward replied:

J'ai l'honneur d'accuser réception de la dépêche de votre Majesté par laquelle elle m'informe que le peuple Serbe l'a élue à l'unanimité Roi de Serbie, et qu'elle a cru devoir répondre à cet appel.

J'offre en ces circonstances à votre Majesté l'assurance de ma bienveillance personnelle, et tout en exprimant mon désir sincère que son règne apporte au peuple confié à ses soins les bienfaits de la paix, de la justice, et de la prospérité, j'espère que votre Majesté parviendra à rétablir le bonne renommée de sa patrie sur laquelle les événements récents ont laissé une tâche si regrettable.[43]

In his answer Edward VII, basically followed pattern of the replies given to King Peter by Emperors Franz Joseph and Nicholas II. Both the Serbian Minister in London, and the Serbian Government wrongly interpreted this letter as the first step towards the re-establishment of the diplomatic relations.[44]

It must have soon become the general belief that King Edward was the key person if any effort to re-establish diplo-

43 *The Times*, July 3, 1903, p. 5 f ('King Edward and King of Servia').

44 *Документи о спољној политици Краљевине Србије 1903–1914*, том. I/1, уредник Андрија Раденић, САНУ, Београд 1991, стр. 162 [Andriya Radenich (ed.), *Dokumenti o spolynoy polititsi Kralyevine Srbiye 1903–1914*, vol. I/1 (Belgrade: SANU, 1991), p. 162].

matic relations was to be undertaken. Both Serbian and continental diplomats believed so. The new Serbian Consul-General, appointed in July 1903, Alexander Yovichich reported that the British Government had succumbed to the dictates of King Edward.[45] Following this belief the new Serbian Consul-General in Glasgow, W. P. Campbell Everdeen, hoped to influence the British Monarch through King Edward's and King Peter's mutual female acquaintances. However, his efforts in summer 1904, failed.[46]

A son of W. T. Stead, Alfred also tried to directly influence King Edward in the autumn of 1904. W. T. Stead was acquainted with Edward's private secretary, Lord Knollys, and Alfred also had his own court contacts. A. Stead visited Serbia in 1904, and was very charmed by the country. He authorised the release of information from his letter to his wife to King Edward. In Belgrade Stead asked Foreign Minister N. Pashich that a memorandum be sent to him in England dealing with Anglo-Serbian relations, in order that 'extremely favourable effect which my letters about Serbia created upon King Edward will not prove abortive'. Moreover, Stead believed that the King had 'a lively interest in hearing more about Serbian affairs, and since the renewal of the relations depends solely upon him, it is superfluous that I should further explain to you the necessity of sending to me the above mentioned summary of facts as soon as possible'. The Italian Ambassador believed that Lansdowne was inclined to send a British representative to King Peter's coronation. Stead concluded the same when he had an opportunity for conversation with Lansdowne. It seemed to Stead that it was King Edward

45 See: Frances Radovich, 'The British Court and Relations with Serbia, 1903–1906', *East European Quarterly*, vol. 14 (Winter 1980), p. 462.

46 *Ibid*, p. 463.

who was still inflexible. An Austro-Hungarian diplomat discovered that Stead was telling Serbian statesmen as well as Vice-Consul Thesiger that Lord Lansdowne '... would gladly be ready to restore diplomatic relations with Serbia but is meeting insurmountable resistance from His Majesty the King'. Stead finally got the memorandum from Serbia and by February 1905, he expressed his gratitude. He wrote that it was already in King Edward's possession, and he intended to submit a copy of it to Lord Lansdowne. He was an optimist at that stage, but six months later he still had no definite information regarding King Edward's reaction. He knew the King had read the report he had drafted on the basis of the Serbian memorandum, but, '... the king has not made any observations in the presence of his friends...' in response to the information presented.[47] Even at the end of 1905, the Serbian Government was receiving news that King Edward was the key obstacle for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations. The French Ambassador to Italy Camille Barrère, wrote in November 1905: 'They are not ignorant at Beograd, that this situation [of ruptured relations] is due to the personal sentiments of King Edward and especially Queen Alexandra'.[48]

Frances Radovich was the first to challenge this belief in King Edward's instrumental role in the re-establishment of Anglo-Serbian relations. She concludes: 'it appears there is no discrepancy at all between the conclusions of recent historians such as George Monger and Zara Steiner regarding the king's negligible overall influence on foreign policy formulation and

47 Radovich, *Aftermath to Regicide*, pp. 112–114.

48 Frances Radovich, 'The British Court and Relations with Serbia, 1903–1906', p. 463 [Barrère to Rouvier, 19 November 1905, *Documents diplomatique français* (1871–1914), VIII (2^{e} série; Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1929–1959), pp. 202–203].

his actual part in the suspension and final restoration of relations with Serbia'.[49] King Edward really expressed his disgust about the Belgrade Regicide on several occasions, but he also seemed to be conciliatory, even very soon after the May Coup. At the beginning of August, the King minuted: 'I presume that immediately Diplomatic relations will have to be resumed'. Two months later the new Serbian Government expressed hopes that King Edward would soon appoint a new British Minister to Belgrade 'as all the other powers had already done'. Having read this the British King noted that it would be difficult not to accredit a Minister to the Court of Serbia since all other Powers had done so. However, it was Lansdowne who commenting on the King's remarks said, 'there is no hurry'. In the spring of 1904, the King again showed no initiative. To the Dutch inquiry on what the British attitude towards re-establishment of the diplomatic relations would be he asked Lansdowne: 'What does Lord Lansdowne think?' It was again King Edward who, in November 1905, minuted in a dispatch: 'Has not the time arrived for diplomatic relations being renewed with Servia'.[50] This all led Radovich to conclude: 'The British king reigned but did not rule'.[51]

Yet, recently, Simon Heffer once again turned the whole discussion upside down. In his book he tried to revive Legge's and Lee's argumentation insisting on the substantial influence that King Edward VII had on both British internal and foreign policy. In Heffer's interpretation the Foreign Office started to

49 Frances Radovich, 'The British Court and Relations with Serbia, 1903–1906', p. 464.

50 *Ibid*, pp. 465–466.

51 *Ibid*, p. 466.

press the King, as early as the spring of 1904, to re-establish diplomatic relations, but the King did not want to compromise. Heffer concluded: 'The King had had his way'.[52]

Frequent shifts of the King's attitudes towards the regicide issue confirm Zara Steiner's conclusion about Edward VII that 'the future king had neither the inclination, the industry nor the ability to play a decisive role in international affairs'[53] Therefore Radovich's analysis of the role of King Edward VII in the Anglo-Serbian diplomatic crisis provides more support for Steiner's characterisation of King Edward's role.

That the Serbian Government was not always well informed can be seen from another fact regarding Amero-Serbian relations. A certain Mr. John Jackson was supposed to become the new American Minister in Belgrade. He was on his way to Serbia when he heard the news of the regicide. He was subsequently instructed by John Hay, Secretary of State (1898–1905), on 20 July that he could recognise the new Government only if there was unanimous recognition from the rest of the diplomatic corps in Belgrade. Otherwise he was advised not to hasten to enter the diplomatic relations.[54] The American attitude was milder than the British reaction, and as early as July, Deputy Secretary of State, Loomis supported Jackson's motion to re-establish diplomatic relations. Loomis also insisted that King Peter should send the American Government notification of his accession. From this point the whole matter became an issue of protocol. All that was expected for recognition was that Serbia

52 Simon Heffer, *Power and Place. The Political Consequences of King Edward VII* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998), p. 170.

53 Zara Steiner, *The Foreign Office and Foreign Policy* (London, New Jersey: The Ashfield Press, 1986) p. 202.

54 Bogdan Popović, 'Majski prevrat i SAD', *Jugoslovenska revija za međunarono pravo*, 1 (1961), p. 87.

should send a letter of notification. The Provisional Government simply forgot to send such a letter to the State Department. Even in September, the State Department was only waiting for Serbian notification.[55]

However, the Serbian Government jumped to the wrong conclusion since the United States, The Netherlands and Britain were the only three countries that did not recognise the new order in Serbia. The Government of the Kingdom of Serbia believed that there was Anglo-American solidarity on this matter. Even Mabel Gruyich, wife of Serbian diplomat Slavko Gruyich, herself an American, was sent to talk to her father's friend, Secretary of State, John Hay. But, as B. Popovich points out 'this was all unnecessary. American recognition was ready and waiting, and although the Serbian Government considered that there was some deep principled policy of the State Department, the whole matter was about a simple formality'.[56]

Finally King Peter's letter was sent, in October, to the United States. The President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt answered it on 11 December, and Jackson was sent a letter of credentials. Although Jackson had to wait for several months to submit the letter of credentials due to the diplomatic strike, he finally submitted it in May 1904, which marked the re-establishment of Amero-Serbian relations that had originally been established in 1881.[57]

55 *Ibid*, p. 92.

56 *Ibid*, p. 93.

57 See Драгољуб Живојиновић, ,,Успостављање дипломатских и трговинског односа између САД и Србије (1878–1881)", *Зборник за историју Матице Српске* [Dragolyub Zhivoyinovich,'Uspostavlyanye diplomatskih i trgovinskih odnosa izmedyu SAD i Srbiye (1878–1881)', *Zbornik za istoriyu Matitse Srpske*, vol. 25 (1982), pp. 31–49].

Although American recognition of the new regime, as a de facto government, was never challenged it was due to the neglect of protocol that it was delayed. Similarly, the belief that King Edward was instrumental in re-establishing Anglo-Serbian relations gave a wrong signal to Serbian diplomacy and contributed to the loss of a substantial amount of time. In both cases the Serbian Government took recourse to unnecessarily informal missions.

Further Development of the Crisis

The Diplomatic Strike

At the end of 1903 the Austro-Hungarian Minister in Belgrade, Dumba, persuaded his Foreign Minister Goluchowski to co-ordinate with Russian Foreign Minister Lamsdorf 'a kind of diplomatic strike' against King Peter, in order to induce him to remove conspirator officers from influential posts at court and to punish them appropriately. Dumba's decision was influenced by the emergence of a counter-conspiracy in Serbia, which offered Austro-Hungarian diplomacy a pretext to interfere in Serbian internal relations. The strike was almost complete and, in January, only the Greek and Turkish Ministers stayed in Belgrade. Britain now co-operated with other Powers hoping to create impression that Europe was unanimous in requiring dismissal of the regicides from the Court.[58]

Thesiger, however, was not satisfied with the diplomatic strike. In his opinion, it lacked a common goal and a synchronized course of action. The significance of the departure of the

58 MacKenzie, *Serbs and Russians*, pp. 332–334.

Foreign Ministers was much minimised, he wrote, because they pleaded ill-health or deferred leave, instead of presenting the true political motives for their action. Therefore, it was not unreasonable at all for the Serbs to be confused about what precisely 'the policy of Europe toward them' was.[59]

The diplomatic strike was ended by a cynical decision of the Serbian King. His *Aides-de-camp* who participated in the regicide were removed from the Court, but at the same time they were promoted to higher positions. Colonel Mashin became the Acting Chief of the Serbian General Staff and Colonel Popovich became the Commander of the Danube Division. Russia immediately announced the appointment of a new Minister, and the Austro-Hungarian and Italian Ministers returned. Others soon followed.[60] Thesiger very strongly suggested that Britain should also be satisfied with the Austro-Russian solution of the conspiracy question. He noted the indifference of the two Powers with regard to the 'unsatisfactory conclusion' of the issue. They were content with 'such nominal concessions'. He warned, '... if we do not renew relations with Servia now, accepting as sufficient the fact that the British Minister will not be brought officially into contact with the authors of the revolution, the present situation may be prolonged for an indefinite period'.[61]

However, Thesiger's recommendation that Britain should demand no further concessions from Serbia failed to change policy at the Foreign Office. Therefore Lansdowne decided to

59 Radovich, *Aftermath*, p. 85; Thesiger to Lansdowne, 13 January 1904, No. 3, PRO FO 105/158.

60 MacKenzie, *Serbs and Russians,* pp. 334–335.

61 Radovich, *Aftermath*, pp. 87–88; Thesiger to Lansdowne, 12 April 1904, No. 30, PRO FO 105/158; also Thesiger to Lansdowne, 2 April 1904, No. 25, PRO FO 105/158; and Thesiger to Lansdowne, 7 April 1904, No. 28, PRO FO 105/158.

bring the matter up at the next Cabinet meeting,[62] but even after this meeting the British Government made no move to restore relations with Serbia. This was influenced by rumours about the unstable internal situation in Serbia, about the dubious future of King Peter and his dynasty, and especially about the probable complicity of both King Peter and Russia in the Obrenovich assassination.

The Re-establishment of Anglo-Serbian Diplomatic Relations

It was only in 1905 that the situation started to change. This change was related to change in Britain's international position. When, in July 1902, Lord Salisbury retired from office many in Britain were not satisfied with his policy of 'splendid isolation'. As Wickham Steed characteristically observed 'British influence had ceased to be felt as a constant element in European public life'.[63] The Anglo-French '*Entente Cordiale*' of April 1904, and the worsening of Anglo-German relations, in connection with the Baghdad Railway as well as the First Moroccan Crisis, were of great significance to implementation of British policy in the Balkans. Simultaneously, Anglo-Russian relations improved after Russia's defeat by Japan in 1905. The crisis in Anglo-Serbian relations was now viewed as very favourable for the strengthening of Austro-German influence in Serbia. Therefore the Foreign Office was more inclined to settle the dispute. Salisbury was ready to tell Miyatovich, in 1900, that since the Balkan nations were not capable of forming a federation he considered 'as a second best solution that Austria-Hungary

62 Radovich, *Aftermath*, pp. 88–89; Lansdowne's minute on Thesiger to Lansdowne, 2 April 1903, No. 25, PRO FO 105/158.

63 Henry Wickham Steed, *Through Thirty Years*, p. 192.

should occupy the entire Balkan Peninsula'.[64] By 1905 no one would have thought of repeating these words in the Foreign Office. Thesiger also stressed throughout 1905, the interests of British industry in Serbia opposed to German capital.

At the same time, Miyatovich made his own unofficial diplomatic efforts. He asked Lord Lansdowne about the possibility of the re-establishment of diplomatic relations.[65] Landowne replied: 'My dear Miyatovitch, Servia does not seem the least anxious to see those relations re-established'. At the beginning of 1905 Miyatovich spoke to Sir Eric Barrington, '*l'homme de confiance*' of the Marquis Lansdowne. He told Miyatovich: 'England does not suggest anything nor asks for anything. She does not contest the right of Servia to have the murderers of King Alexander Obrenovitch at Court, in the Government, in the Army and in the highest government administrative post, to promote them and to bestow decorations on them. But she maintains the liberty and the right to refuse to have diplomatic and friendly relations with such Servians'. Miyatovich inquired if the retirement of three leading regicides would satisfy Britain, and Barrington with reservations approved Miyatovich's plan.[66] However, the Serbian Government was not at that point ready to accept this proposal. But the new Serbian Government (appointed in May 1905) was keen to re-establish diplomatic relations with Britain. The Macedonian question was constantly threatening to explode and the new Stoyanovich Government believed that Britain would play the key role in the settlement of the Macedonian question.

64 Chedo Mijatovich, 'Lord Salisbury-The Peacemaker', *Fortnightly Review,* vol. 82 (1907), p. 974.

65 It probably happened in late 1904.

66 Lena Yovitchitch, *The Biography*, pp. 218–221.

British public opinion was, however, more sympathetic with the Bulgarian cause in Macedonia than with the Serbian one. This pro-Bulgarian line of British public opinion had been evident ever since the Serbo-Bulgarian War of 1885. After the outbreak of St. Elijah's Uprising, pro-Bulgarian agitation in Britain intensified. This influenced the Foreign Office that persistently tried, since the summer of 1903, to convince the European Concert to accept an autonomous Macedonia. An alternative British solution was a Greater Bulgaria. Balfour had some sympathies for this plan under certain conditions. Lansdowne and O'Conor also had high opinion of the Bulgarians especially in comparison with other nationalities in the Balkans.[67] In a letter to Lansdowne, in February 1903, Balfour remarked: 'The Bulgarians are the only Nationality in the Balkans with the making of a nation in them and I hold (in this differing from Percy and many others) that they would be much more efficient guardians of the Straits than Turkey seems ever likely to be'. Still Balfour thought that a Greater Bulgaria should not 'be the aim of diplomacy in existing circumstances.' He was rather for *status quo* and reform.[68]

The Balfour Government was under the constant pressure of its public opinion to do something for the Macedonian Christians. British diplomats really did try to achieve some sort of autonomy for Macedonia in the last months of 1903. However, British designs for an autonomous Macedonia were rejected in Europe until February 1904. Only Italy supported them. But Serbian Governments were not properly informed of Balfour's

67 Frances A. Radovich, 'Britain's Macedonian Reform Policy, 1903-1905', *The Historian*, vol. 43 (August 1981), p. 502.

68 *Ibid*, p. 502 (Balfour to Lansdowne, 22 February 1904, BP, Add. MSS 49728).

impotence. What they could see was the substantial activity of British diplomacy regarding Macedonia, and clear sympathies of important sections of British public opinion for the Bulgarian cause in Macedonia. It is natural that the 'Serbian Government has now overrated Britain's power to effectuate Balkan affaires and partly because of this miscalculation became especially eager to mend its British political fence'.[69]

Therefore the Stoyanovich Government was very inclined to re-establish diplomatic relations with Britain. However, the conspirators, learning of the intentions of the Serbian Government, allied with Austro-Hungarian diplomacy against their own Government.

In Britain, at the end of 1905, the Unionist Government was replaced by a Liberal one. The new British Government, with Sir Edward Grey as Foreign Secretary, made repeated efforts to re-establish diplomatic relations, though constantly demanding the retirement of seven leading regicides. The Serbian Government, elected in April 1906 and headed by N. Pashich, offered the retirement of five regicides. Finally, six regicides were retired and diplomatic relations were re-established in June. The Serbian King made another cynical decision. In order to satisfy the regicides, he offered them a substantial sum of money. Every conspirator got 60,000 francs (approx. £ 3,000) and in return the conspirators retired voluntarily. Moreover, their pensions were to be equal to their prior salaries. Grey accepted this cynical compromise, which was somewhat similar to the one Lansdowne had refused to accept in 1904. As D. Zhivoyinovich summarised: 'King Peter persistently and for a long time, often to his own detriment, protected the conspirators from the pressures of Government, parties, public opinion and the Great

69 Radovich, *Aftermath*, p. 204.

Powers. He denounced them as soon as they became instruments of Austro-Hungarian diplomacy. Personal feelings and solidarity were replaced by political and state reasons'.[70]

70 Zhivoyinovich, *Kraly Petar*, vol, II, p. 243.

CHAPTER 4

PERCEPTIONS OF SERBIA AND THE BALKANS IN THE BRITISH PRESS

I. BRITISH QUALITY DAILIES ON SERBIA

> *The journalists are now the true kings and clergy; henceforth Historians, unless they are fools, must write not of Bourbon Dynasties and Tudors, and Hapsburgs, but of Stamped Broadsheet Dynasties.*

This is how W. T. Stead started his article on 'His Majesty's Public Councillors', by which he meant the editors of London's daily papers. Comparing the influence of the 'Public Council' to the significance that the Privy Council had once had in British history, he remarked that the Public Council 'has advanced in political importance. The Cabinet relies upon the Public Council. It fears its hostility, it rejoices in its support'.[1] However, out of the twenty-one editors of London daily newspapers not all belonged to the same group. There were those who

1 W. T. Stead, 'Character Sketch. His Majesty's Public Councillors: to Wit, the Editors of the London Daily Press', *The Review of Reviews,* vol. 30 (December 1904), p. 594; Stephen Koss felt that Stead's inventory although disputable in specific cases 'serves conveniently to provide a framework': Stephen Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1984), p. 1.

made 'the influencing of opinion their chief business' and, in Stead's opinion, two journals were remarkable in this group, two 'which everyone who is in affairs must read'. There was 'no Minister, no diplomatist, no public man', who could 'afford to miss reading *The Times* in the morning and *The Westminster Gazette* in the evening'. Although both were 'party papers', men of both parties read them. Consequently, according to Stead, whoever reads both may 'feel secure that he misses nothing'.[2] Of the weeklies, the most influential was *The Spectator*, which under its editors M. Townsend (Editor from 1861 to 1897) and John St Loe Strachey (Editor from 1898 to 1925) 'came to be regarded as perhaps the foremost and most representative of British periodicals'.[3]

In the chapter that follows I shall analyse the coverage of Serbia in the two leading British dailies and the leading weekly. *The Morning Post* is also referred to since it was the paper of the Conservative and Unionist Party which ruled Britain from June 1895 to December 1905. *The Spectator* is reviewed in this chapter because, like dailies engaged in every-day political struggles, it aimed to achieve immediate influence. Occasionally, *The New York Times* will be cited, chiefly for the sake of comparison.

On the whole, the London dailies did not devote much coverage to the Balkans. However, with the emergence of the independent Balkan countries, a dilemma appeared on how to cover these states. In the network of the correspondents of *The Times*, at the time of the Berlin Treaty, the territory of the Balkans was primarily the responsibility of the Vienna Correspondent. He sometimes had special writers sent to cover peculiarly relevant events, and he also supervised local agents in

2 *Ibid*, p. 595.

3 Dennis Griffiths (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press* (London: Macmillan Press, 1992), p. 526.

charge of day-to-day news. The Constantinople Correspondent and the news agencies, especially Reuter's, supplemented this work. There was no special correspondent for the Balkan Christian countries. Even the post in Constantinople had 'occasional gaps'.[4] In the hierarchy of the foreign correspondents of *The Times* there were occasional correspondents, 'Our Correspondents', who were preceded in eminence only by those styled 'Our Own Correspondents'.[5] Bourchier was occasional correspondent until 1892 when he was given a permanent position, being in charge of Bulgaria, Rumania, and Greece. From July 1895, he was 'Our Own Correspondent', which meant that from that time there was a permanent whole-time correspondent of *The Times* to the Balkan Peninsula.[6] Bourchier had support from Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, Director of the Foreign Department of *The Times* from 1890 till 1899, himself a former correspondent of *The Times* from Constantinople.[7] However, the Manager of *The Times* 'never admitted that anybody in Britain had the slightest interest in the Balkans'.[8] Moreover, when Bourchier was granted a permanent position in 1892, he was discouraged by the Manager from expecting a deputy, since 'as a rule the British public

4 Lady Grogan, *The Life of J. D. Bourchier*, p. 51; Correspondents from Constantinople were: Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace (1878–1884), M. Guarracino (1890–1891), Mr. Whittaker (1895–1903) and then Dudley Disraeli Braham untill 1907.

5 The fact that the articles of *The Times* correspondents were not signed, but only had the above mentioned references sometimes create difficulties in identification of their authors.

6 *The History of The Times* (London: The Office of The Times, 1947), pp. 713, 715–716.

7 Mackenzie Wallace was a man of strong Russian sympathies and É. Halévy believed that, at the time when he was Foreign Editor of *The Times*, this 'may have contributed to the anti-German attitude of the paper'. *Élie Halévy, A History of the English People. Book III: The Decline of the Unionist Party* (London: Penguin Books, 1940), p. 177.

8 *The History of The Times*, p. 713.

only care for one thing at once and two things in the Balkans would be more than they could stand'.[9]

Serbia had a peculiar position in the coverage of *The Times*. Namely, the country was sometimes covered by the Vienna correspondent and sometimes by Bourchier, who was in Belgrade almost every year, but usually on his way to other places. He rarely provided coverage of Serbia in the 1890s. He mostly wrote on her finances and scandals at the Belgrade Court.[10] The Vienna correspondent of *The Times*, from the end of 1902, was Henry Wickham Steed (1871–1956), who succeeded William Lavino there. He was an able foreign correspondent for *The Times*, to become its Foreign Editor, and finally the Editor of *The Times*. During the preparations of the Serbian conspirators to murder the Serbian royal couple, he was probably the only Englishman who knew something about the conspiracy. He visited B. von Kállay, a capable Austro-Hungarian administrator of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in early March 1903, to discuss the outlook in Macedonia. He could not discover anything from von Kállay on Macedonia, but Kállay warned him to keep his eye on Belgrade. 'Master Alexander has got an awful fright. He knows there is trouble brewing and he has not dared to stir out of his Konak for the last forty-eight hours. Watch carefully and you may see things', Kállay told him.

Similarly to von Kállay *The Times* discussed the possibility of a premature end of the rule of King Alexander on several occasions. A correspondent of *The Times* from Vienna reported, in May 1901, the Viennese mood towards King Alexander. He noticed that the affairs of Serbia were not regarded in Vienna as 'very satisfactory'. However the *status quo* was considered 'far preferable to any change that is within the limits of probability', especially because 'a hopeless state of anarchy' was regarded 'as

9 *Ibid*, p. 714.

10 Lady Grogan, *The Life of J. D. Bourchier*, p. 94.

the most likely result of a popular revolt against the King', who was 'practically the sole representative of his dynasty'. *The Times* offered the list of pretenders considering Prince Peter Karageorgevich as being 'quite unsuited to a thorny task of ruling such a turbulent little country as Servia'. Still, there was a candidate 'of more serious kind', Prince Mirko of Montenegro, the son of Prince Nicholas who 'has long cherished the idea of a Greater Servia, in which the scattered members of the Servian race would be reunited under a scion of his own house'. However, Viennese circles that supplied *The Times* with information considered this unlikely because of the jealousy that the Serbians felt 'towards all their kindred beyond the frontier, and more particularly the Montenegrins, a comparatively poor and backward race, who would be sure to seize all the more remunerative post under the new *régime* and to emigrate *en masse* from their barren mountains to the fertile Servian plains'. A Central European or a Russian Prince would not be possible because of the jealousy of the Powers and a neutral candidate would find it very difficult to govern 'that stormy kingdom'. *The Times* considered therefore that republicans might try with the help of the peasantry to substitute the Monarchy with a Republican form of government.[11] Still, William Lavino, the correspondent of *The Times*, from Vienna soon reported that capable and well-informed observers did not anticipate 'any serious consequences in Servia, at least for the present'.[12] However, the situation in Serbia grew worse and the Vienna correspondent reported, at the end of 1902, that it was sincerely to be hoped that King Alexander would refrain from perilous experiments, and that he would not attempt

11 *The Times*, May 18, 1901, p. 7 e ('Servia'); Following the *Palmer's Index* of *The Times* for reference purposes the columns of each page have been lettered from left to right – a, b, c, d, e, f. For the same purposes the titles of articles are given in brackets.

12 *The Times*, May 20, 1901, p 7 f ('Servia').

another violent revision of the Constitution, 'which could only increase the existing confusion and further endanger his own position'.[13]

Finally, King Alexander was killed on 11 June, 1903, and Steed found out about it from the Viennese evening press. He immediately went to see von Kállay who told him that he was not in on the conspiracy and that 'Alexander was doomed, and the intrigues of Nicholas of Montenegro have been nipped in the bud'.[14] He was able to tell Steed that the successor in Serbia would be Peter Karageorgevich, and that the Karageorgeviches 'have always had two elements in their policy-not to quarrel with Austria-Hungary, and not to quarrel with Turkey, their most powerful neighbours'.[15] Von Kállay was, according to Steed, 'clearly excited by the murders', and, 'undoubtedly pleased by their probable effects'.[16]

'Servia the land of assassinations, abdications...'

The regicide naturally aroused interest in Britain toward both Serbia and the Balkans. However, the Balkans generally, and Serbia in particular, were not very familiar to the British public and therefore editors felt obliged to supply their readers with basic data on them. From 1898 *The Times* joined with two American publishers who owned the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and published the Tenth Edition (1902–1903).[17] The publishers

13 *The Times*, November 24, 1902 ('Servian Outlook').

14 Henry Wickham Steed, *Through Thirty Years*, p. 204.

15 *Ibid*, p. 204.

16 *Ibid*, p. 204.

17 *The History of The Times* (London: The Office of *The Times*, 1947), pp. 443–446.

undertook to advertise the *Britannica* through *The Times* and the May Coup provided one of the opportunities for the marketing of the Encyclopaedia. An advertisement drew the attention of readers of *The Times* to the assassination in the Balkans. 'After the first shock many, even among those who are diligent readers of the newspaper, are asking what the Karageorgevich Dynasty is, where it comes from...' Moreover the political picture of the Balkans was so complicated and it is one which the 'average reader has been asked to look at so often that he has, very probably, never taken courage to look at it carefully'.[18] As an introduction to the 'complicated' situation *The Times* offered its readers four extracts from historical articles written by Chedomille Miyatovich, Serbian Minister at London. Later readers of *The Times* were reminded that 'anything may be expected from the Balkan Peninsula', but whatever happened the possessor of the thirty-five volume Encyclopaedia could 'feel himself prepared'.[19] Nonetheless, it seems the British public knew more than the Americans, and *The New York Times* even felt obliged to publish an article explaining who the Serbs were.[20]

The Westminster Gazette, being an evening newspaper, naturally published information on the regicide on the evening of 11 June. The newspaper expressed its astonishment: 'this is "staggering humanity" with a vengeance; it is a comprehensive *coup d'état* that is hardly the less terrible because it is one to which the East has accustomed us'. However, *The Westminster* was not sure how the regicide would affect the situation in the Near East, although in its opinion it could 'hardly fail to have

18 *The Times*, June 12, 1903, p. 4, d.

19 *The Times,* June 18, 1903, p. 4 d.

20 *The New York Times*, June 12, 1903, p. 2 c ('Who the Servians are').

an important effect'.[21] *The Westminster* also demonstrated an interest in the aftermath of the regicide in an interview with the Serbian Minister in London, C. Miyatovich, asking him what Russia and Austria would be likely to do and if they would intervene in any way. The Minister's answer about the possibility of intervention was negative.[22]

The Westminster had no correspondent in the Balkans and as a substitution, published in the next day's issue a long article by Herbert Vivian, the personal friend of the late royal couple. Vivian admitted that he had always admired Serbia, holding her to be 'the pattern State of the Balkans, almost as a model to Europe'. Moreover he had almost persuaded himself that were he not a Briton he would cast his lot 'with a people whose history and instincts were supremely chivalrous'. Having received the news on the regicide, he felt much as if he had lost half of his relatives and all his friends. And it happened in Belgrade 'almost a second home' to him. He could have understood it, had it happened 'among the mongrel Tatars of Bulgaria', but that it could happen 'among the courteous, gentle, civilised Servians' was 'as outstanding as if a British general or a Premier suddenly ran amok'. So Vivian decided that 'until further information' reached him he would not believe 'that this crime' had 'the countenance of the Servian nation' because the Serbian nation 'seemed to possess all the public virtues' and they could not 'suddenly become most infamous'.[23] Contrary to Vivian's restraint, *The Westminster* was more explicit in describing in the same issue the regicide as 'a wholesale extirpation of a reigning

21 *The Westminster Gazette*, June 11, 1903, p. 2 b.

22 *The Westminster Gazette*, June 11, 1903, p. 7 b.

23 *The Westminster Gazette*, June 12, 1903, p. 1 c, 2 a (Herbert Vivian, 'The Servian Massacre I.-In Praise of the King and Queen').

family unparalleled in modern European history', which 'pales into insignificance all previous achievements of the Servian people in the way of assassination and coups d'état'.[24]

The Times had a clear advantage over *The Westminster* in coverage of the regicide by having two able journalists in the region. As soon as he found out about the murder, H. W. Steed sent a dispatch to *The Times,* from Vienna, reporting:

> *Servia, the land of assassinations, abdications, pronunciamientos, and coups d'État, has surprised itself and caused all previous achievements to pale into insignificance beside the tragedy enacted between midnight and the small hours of this morning in Belgrade. A Central Asian khanate, not a European city, would have been a fitting theatre for such a ruthless and accurately planned regicide. France has seen her President, Austria her Empress, and Italy her King struck down by assassins within the last ten years; but no parallel can be found in recent European history for such wholesale extirpation of a reigning family and of its partisans. Full and duly authenticated descriptions of the hecatomb are still waiting, but enough is known to characterise the tragedy of Belgrade as unique in contemporary history.*[25]

However, it was not Steed but Bourchier who hastened to come to Belgrade, after he received the news on the assassination. He sent his first telegram on 12 June. It was difficult for him to realise when he arrived to Belgrade 'that there had been enacted within barely 24 hours another of those terrible tragedies which have disfigured the history of Servia'. He noticed that 'perfect

24 *The Westminster Gazette*, June 12, 1903, p. 7 a.

25 *The Times*, Friday, June 12, 1903, p. 5 a.

ILLUSTRATION 13
King Peter Karageorgevich

ILLUSTRATION 14
A Danish view of King Peter reproduced in *The Review of Reviews*

Klods Hans.] [Copenhagen.

The good King Peter I. in the midst of his familiars and the most solid supports of his throne

The New York Times.

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1903.—SIXTEEN PAGES. ONE C

ASK RECEIVER FOR U. S. SHIPBUILDING CO.

Insolvency Charged; also Fraud in Organizing the Concern.

Allegation That Bethlehem Steel Works Deal Netted Enormous Profits to C. M. Schwab and That He Seeks to Grab Entire Property.

J. P. MORGAN AND PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

President Mellen of Northern Pacific Quoted as Saying Morgan Is Against Him.

KING AND QUEEN OF SERVIA SLAIN

Killed by Revolutionists in Belgrade Palace.

MINISTERS ASSASSINATED.

Queen Draga's Relatives also Put to Death.

Prince Peter Karageorgevitch, the Pretender to the Throne, Proclaimed King—Servians Approve the Coup d'Etat.

BIG PRIZE SONG CONCERT.

President and High Officials to be Present at Baltimore Saengerfest.

ILLUSTRATION 15

Front page of *The New York Times* on June 12, 1903

tranquillity' prevailed everywhere. Belgrade had 'a festive aspect', with almost every house displaying a flag, which indicated 'either the satisfaction or the fear of its occupants'. Even in the streets there was 'no display of excitement', and 'business went on as usual'. Bourchier explained this 'callous attitude of the people ' by the unpopularity of the late Queen.[26] Two days later he noted that there was no sign of opposition to the new order of things, and Serbia remained under civil government. 'But in reality the army is supreme and the reign of Praetorianism has begun'.[27] Similarly to Bourchier *The Westminster* soon concluded that the new Serbian King would return to Belgrade 'to get place rather than power' and the power would reside with the Army since 'it is a case of the Army first, the rest nowhere'. Moreover it was not clear whether the Serbians would be 'any better off in consequence' than they had been 'under the rulers whom they found it necessary to murder'.[28]

Another London newspaper with a correspondent in the Balkans was the conservative daily *The Morning Post*. Its correspondent was Hector Hugh Munro (1870–1916, known under the pseudonym Saki), a well-known Scottish writer and journalist. He wrote political satires for *The Westminster Gazette* and later he was the Balkan Correspondent for *The Morning Post*. He came to the southern Balkans in late 1902, reporting from Salonica in October as 'Our Special Correspondent'. He was far from Bourchier's sympathies for the Macedonian Christians calling them 'an artificial element inspired by Sofia and only working to provoke a massacre that would draw in the Great

26 *The Times*, June 13, 1903, p. 7 a ('The Servian Tragedy').

27 *The Times*, June 13, 1903, p. 7 a ('The Servian Tragedy. Further Details').

28 *The Westminster Gazette*, June 18, 1903, p. 2 c.

Powers'.[29] At the moment of the May Coup he was in Sofia, and he took the evening train to Belgrade on the same day. Like Bourchier he was 'looking out at station after station across the Serbian lowlands for signs of lamentation', but there were none, not 'even evidence of any unusual stirring'. He portrayed the situation, with his artistic talent, for the Morning Post:

> *History will concern itself with the yea and the nay of the fallen dynasty, with its hapless marriages and its coups d'état, and sentiment will be busy with the contemplation of its vicissitudes and its fatal catastrophe.*
>
> *Here, face to face with tragedy, it behoves neither to blame nor to pity. The issue was a domestic one, and lay between the Servian people and the Servian ruling family.*
>
> *But above all other reflections stands the horror of that final loneliness in the dark Palace, when amid the crashing uproar of forced-in doors the hunted couple sought in room after room for succour of safety and found only desertion and enemies.*[30]

Munro (Saki) was even inspired to write a play, entitled *The Death-Trap*, based partially on the May Coup.

The Spectator was very explicit as regard to the murder at Belgrade calling it 'wholesale butchery, which reads like a Palace tragedy of the Italian Renaissance'. This weekly was also worried about the prospect of peace in Europe expressing its hopes that 'it will not be imperilled by the event, and a further

29 Quoted from Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania. The Imperialism of the Imagination*, p. 118.

30 Quoted from *Ibid*, p. 62.

source of danger added to the existing complications in the Balkans'.[31] Commenting on the selection of Prince Peter to be King of Serbia, *The Spectator* remarked that he was 'as little known to King Edward' as 'the Obrenovitch was'. It further concluded that Prince Peter had no other alternative under existing circumstances but to be guided by the Praetorians of Belgrade. It further prophesised about the army that 'their sway will be at least as bad as that of the Obrenovitches, and will end, if history is any guide, either in another revolution or in a civil war, the troops in the interior growing jealous of the ascendancy of the troops in the capital'.[32]

The Withdrawal of the British Minister

The withdrawal of the British Minster from Belgrade, soon after the May Coup, and the effects of the withdrawal, were carefully followed by Bourchier. He reported, on 21 June, that Sir George Bonham, the British Minister in Belgrade, would leave the Serbian capital the next day. He also reported the Serbian reaction, noting that the decision of the British Government was 'strangely understood', in Belgrade, 'owing to the prevailing conviction that a highly meritorious act has been committed which has raised Servia in the eyes of the civilized world'. He quoted the journal *Mala* (probably *Mali Zhurnal*), which claimed that England, being accustomed to oppressing other nations, perhaps regretted 'that the number of oppressed nations in the world' was 'now diminished by one'. Furthermore, 'the act which has been committed in the Servian capital has saved the honour of Servia, has exalted her prestige, and has

31 *The Spectator*, vol. 90, June 13, 1903, p. 922.

32 *The Spectator*, vol. 90, June 20, 1903, p. 965 ('The Revolution in Servia').

restored peace and tranquillity to the country'. In Bourchier's opinion these effusions were 'highly characteristic', reflecting 'the present state of the public mind', which regarded 'the foreign disapprobation with contempt'.[33] Bourchier himself completely supported the withdrawal of the British Minister, calling it, at the end of 1903, an 'excellent example'.[34]

From the moment of the withdrawal of the British Minister all reactions concerning that decision were carefully covered in the British press. All newspapers supporting British official attitudes were quoted. Even American newspapers supporting British views were quoted, especially *The New York Times*.[35] *The Times* correspondent from New York cited *The Tribune* stating that the British Government set 'a good example in withdrawing its Minister from Belgrade' and in declining 'to maintain ordinary relations with the murderers', which precisely accorded 'with American feelings'. After that, the New York correspondent ironically noted that *The Evening Post* could see 'nothing good in a Government of which Mr. Chamberlain is a member', and that it considered Lord Lansdowne's action 'incomplete as a rebuke and impracticable as a general policy'. But other British journals, he commented, saw that it was 'not meant as a statement of general policy', but was 'expressly applicable to Servia and exactly suited to the existing conditions of that wretched country'.[36]

However, Steed reported that the attitude in Vienna was rather different. Namely, the action of England in withdrawing Sir George Bonham from Belgrade was not generally welcomed

33 *The Times*, June 22, 1903, p. 7 b ('The Servian Revolution. The Withdrawal of the British Minister').

34 *The Times,* December 23, 1903, p. 6 a, b ('The Situation in Servia').

35 *The Times*, June 20, 1903, p. 7 a.

36 *The Times*, June 22, 1903, p. 7 b.

there, and was considered a little superfluous. The Austro-Hungarian view was that Servia was 'an Oriental State', that Europe wanted a tranquil Servia, and that King Peter, whether acquainted or not with the conspiracy, offered 'the best guarantee of Servian tranquility', and possessed 'the advantage of damping Montenegrin hopes', and 'that practical diplomacy ought not to increase his embarrassment by exposing him to a moral boycott'.[37]

As the day of the arrival of Prince Peter to Belgrade approached, the diplomatic situation went from bad to worse for Serbia. Bourchier reported on 23 June, that the British Minister had left that morning, and that he would be followed by the French, Dutch, Turkish and American Ministers and only Russian and Austrian Ministers would 'certainly attend to-morrow's ceremony, the former in uniform, the latter in morning dress'.[38] Still, the Austrian Minister appeared in full dress, which *The Times* only mentioned, while *The Westminster Gazette* commented on it as 'a marvellous object-lesson in the ways of diplomacy'. 'Could anything be more diplomatic?', *The Westminster* wondered. 'The Austrian Minister is there in uniform, he is presented to the King, but his Government has still not recognised the new régime. Our compliments to him on his cleverness in seeing that his Russian colleague was not left in sole possession of the diplomatic field.'[39]

Finally, Bourchier reported on 23 June, that the foreign Ministers who had left Belgrade before the King's arrival, returned except the British, the Dutch, and the American ones, of which the last two did not permanently reside in Belgrade. Furthermore the new Serbian King got telegrams acknowledging

37 *The Times*, June 23, 1903, p. 5 b ('The Servian Revolution').

38 *The Times*, June 24, 1903, p. 7 b ('The Servian Revolution').

39 *The Westminster Gazette*, June 25, 1903, p. 2 b.

his announcement from the King of Italy, the Kings of Sweden and Norway, and the President of the Swiss Republic. He added that the Serbian Government would remain in power till the election fixed for 14 September, commenting: 'Thus the curtain has fallen on the last act of the Servian tragedy. A period of relative tranquillity will probably ensue. The harvest is beginning, during which peasants have no time for politics, and many of the leading politicians will betake themselves to abroad to recruit their energies for the autumn campaign'.[40] Having estimated that the situation in Serbia was calm, Bourchier soon left for Sofia, and the news from Serbia in *The Times* started to be much shorter. In fact, the news was usually taken from Reuter's.

The Regicides

However, it was in September that *The Times* started to cover everything available related to the position of the regicides in Serbia. Steed reported in September that it was still 'difficult to estimate the importance of the conflict in Servia between the bulk of the corps of officers and the clique of assassins'. An official investigation 'has shown 900 out of the 1,300 officers of the Servian army to have adhered formally to the movement against the assassins', who 'have no mind to let themselves be driven from power, and are reported to be threatening King Peter with the publication of documents proving his complicity in the conspiracy against King Alexander should he show the white feather'. Steed finished characteristically: 'In these circumstances Servia seems likely to provide interesting developments as

40 *The Times,* July 1, 1903, p. 7 f.

any corner of the Balkan Peninsula'.[41] About 'the righteous indignation, and stern morality of the Russian Press' he commented that it 'would ring truer if Russia had been less precipitate in recognizing the new Servian *regime*', and perhaps King Peter 'could tell an interesting tale should he ever return to private life'.

A special correspondent of *The Times* from Belgrade soon reported that "new conspiracy" was 'a far more serious matter than the Government could dare to acknowledge', encompassing at least 1,000 out of a total of some 1,500 officers. In his opinion there were probably 'few Servians who do not at least secretly sympathize with it'. The anti-regicide movement consisted of three groups: 'those whose fortunes and possibly lives were dependent on the late Obrenovitch dynasty'; a still smaller party of those who were 'honestly ashamed of the murders'; and the vast majority because they realised 'that the revolution had led to perhaps worse corruption and tyranny than ever existed before. For the clique of assassins hold all the chief civil and military offices, the keys of the arsenal and the treasure chests, and any man who crosses them is doomed'. He thought that King Peter was himself surrounded and ruled, and many were 'losing hope that he will ever be able to shake himself free'. Moreover, Serbia seemed to be 'singularly lacking in strong men with respectable characters', and therefore it would be interesting to see whether any one would appear who would dare to stand up against the reigning clique, and what would be the fate of King Peter.[42]

41 *The Times,* September 9, 1903, p. 3 c.

42 *The Times*, September 22, 1903, p. 3 b ('King Peter and the Servian Army').

The Diplomatic Strike

On 14 December, Steed informed the readers of *The Times* that the rumours had been confirmed and the Austro-Hungarian Government was about to recall its representative from Belgrade. This was 'a clear manifestation of European disapproval of the predominating influence in Servia by the assassins of King Alexander', and it would 'offer King Peter an opportunity of removing these men from power'. Steed anticipated that it was probable that there would 'shortly be a general diplomatic strike at Belgrade'.[43]

At the end of the 1903, an unusually long article by Bourchier appeared about Serbia. He depicted the situation in Serbia, as follows:

> *The present state of affairs in Servia is hardly such as to warrant an optimistic forecast. The final scene of the hideous drama of last summer has not yet been enacted, and the hand of the Avenging Goddesses, which the Greek tragedians loved to trace in their noble masterpieces, still weighs heavily upon that unhappy country. All appearances lead to the conclusion that the day of expiation is approaching.*

In Bourchier's opinion 'had King Peter, immediately after his arrival at Belgrade, summoned courage to remove the guilty officers from every position of power and influence, such an act of decision would in all probability have consolidated his own position and that of his dynasty'. The King seemed to him 'sensitive to the humiliations to which he is subjected', but all he could do, in the given circumstances, was 'to temporize with

43 *The Times,* December 14, 1903, p. 7 b ('The Servian Regicides').

his gaolers'. It was hinted that King Peter welcomed the diplomatic boycott 'in the hope that it may impress public opinion in Servia and eventually enable him to shake off a yoke which humiliates him personally and endangers his dynasty'.[44]

After this dispatch, Steed again took over the coverage of Serbian affairs for the following half year. He reported on 7 March, that 'the semi-boycott' to which King Peter and the Serbian Government had been subjected for some time by the Powers, was 'beginning to produce an effect'. Namely, the figure-head of the assassins, Damyan Popovich, was to be promoted from his position near the person of the King to a higher post as soon as the Skupshtina had sanctioned the necessary Budget formalities. 'It is hoped that the Powers may then be moved to raise the boycott and to release King Peter from an embarrassing predicament', Steed noticed.[45] He soon noted that many other officers appointed by the revolutionary Government had been redistributed among various regiments, and that the posts about the person of the King had been filled by non-conspirators. Consequently, 'King Peter has not had long to wait for his reward. Russia and Italy, apparently acting in concert, have immediately raised the diplomatic boycott'.[46]

The boycott thus ended but Serbia was still for *The Times* a country from what one could not hope for anything good. Steed soon turned his attention again to Serbia and again in a poetical manner: 'If smoke means fire, the Servian question may soon become burning. Belgrade is not a city where truth walks abroad at midday, but occasionally Servian rumours merit attention'. First these rumours included the intention of King Peter to

44 *The Times,* December 23, 1903, p. 6 a, b ('The Situation in Servia').

45 *The Times,* March 7, 1904, p. 6 a ('Servia').

46 *The Times,* April, 2, 1904, p. 3 b ('Servia').

abdicate; second his intention to 'remodel "the much-kneaded Servian Constitution"'; and, third King Peter's 'alleged belief that Servia may shortly be called upon to take a head in possible Balkan complications'. Steed dismissed abdication as highly improbable and felt that the remodelling of the constitution was 'a possible, though not an immediate, necessity'. With regard to the troubles in the Balkans, Steed noted that in Berlin and in Vienna politicians feared that Russia could 'attempt to create in South-Eastern Europe a diversion from the unfortunate predicament in which she finds herself in the Far East', and it was thought possible that King Peter 'might be willing to earn a fresh title to Russian gratitude by stirring up the glowing embers of the Balkan fire'.[47]

The next event in Serbia that provoked the attention of *The Times* was the coronation of King Peter. This time Bourchier came personally to Belgrade to cover it and sent four informative dispatches about it.[48] Two other Englishmen came to Belgrade to be present during the coronation ceremonies. They were Arnold Muir Wilson (1857–1909) and Frank Storm Mottershaw (1882–1931). Wilson was an eminent lawyer and a member of the Sheffield City Council. In the summer of 1898 he was appointed to be Serbia's Honorary Consul in Sheffield and it was in this capacity that he worked to improve Serbia's trade with Great Britain. He was very devoted to Serbia and he decided to come to Belgrade to attend the coronation and to bring with him Mr. Mottershaw who was a cameraman of the Sheffield Photo Company. Mottershaw's notes, containing his impressions from

47 *The Times,* May 10, 1904, p. 5 e ('The Outlook in Servia').

48 *The Times*, September 21, 1904, p. 3 d ('Coronation Ceremonies at Belgrade'); September 22, 1904, p. 3 d ('Coronation of King Peter'); September 23, 1904, p. 3 d ('The Servian Coronation'); September 24, 1904, p. 6 a ('The Servian Coronation').

Serbia, have been preserved. They offer a good insight into an average Englishman's perceptions of Serbia at the time. He says he was very surprised by Wilson's offer to go to Belgrade. At first he hesitated, having in mind the terrible murders that had happened just several months before, as well as stories about bombs and banditti in Serbia that he had read in the press.[49] Still, he recorded the coronation, and he also filmed several Serbian monasteries and some spots in Sanjak of Novi Bazar, in Turkey, as well as some spots in Montenegro and Dalmatia. Upon his return to Britain Wilson organised two presentations in Sheffield and one in London.[50]

Another British cameraman visited Serbia in 1905. His name was Mackenzie and he came from Inverness. He was commissioned by the Urbanora Company 'to obtain living pictures of men, manners, and customs in the Near East'.[51] He was accompanied by Harry de Windt, who was sent as Special Correspondent of *The Westminster Gazette* to visit the Balkan States and European Russia. His experience will be discussed in the next chapter since he published his impressions about 'savage Europe' in a book.[52]

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49 Срђан Кнежевић, „Почасни конзул Србије Арнолд Мјуир Вилсон", *Историјски часопис* [Srdyan Knezhevich, 'Pochasni konzul Srbiye Arnold Myuir Vilson', *Istoriyski chasopis*, Belgrade, vol. 39 (1992), p. 171]. Knezhevich quoted Mottershaw in Serbo-Croatian translation, and since that source is not available for me in English, I can only retranslate Mottershaw's words into English.

50 *Ibid*, p. 173; The film has been preserved and is kept in the Belgrade Cinema Archives.

51 Harry De Windt, *My Restless Life* (London: Grant Richards, 1909), p. 354.

52 De Windt, Harry, *Through Savage Europe. Being the Narrative of a Journey* (*Undertaken by Special Correspondent of the Westminster Gazette*) *throughout the Balkan States and European Russia* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906).

Calm in 1905

The Times was not particularly interested in Serbia in 1905. Several months passed without any single report from Serbia. Only crises of Serbian cabinets that drew some of the Reuter's Agency's attention and almost none of Bourchier's. Since the May Coup all coverage of Serbia by *The Times* was related to the regicide, the regicides, the new King and the Cabinet crises. The only news not following this pattern was published in October 1905. *The Times* shortly reported that according to the foreign press, the Serbian King had opened the first Serbian University. But even this news was followed by a remark that the ceremony was said, 'to have aroused little popular enthusiasm'.[53]

Finally, Bourchier published a longer text on Serbia in October. He was in Rumania then, and from letters that he received from Belgrade he got 'a gloomy picture of the situation in Servia', where discontent was stated 'to be rife among the population of the interior, which had expected great benefits from the change of dynasty' but which found itself 'in a worse position than before'. The people were 'irritated and disillusioned', the expected millennium was still remote, and a period of economic stress seemed in prospect, as a poor harvest had resulted from the drought of the past summer. 'A feeling of discouragement' also prevailed among the upper classes. Even in the army 'the tension between the conspirators and the so-called anti-conspirators has increased to such a degree that the present state of affairs can hardly last much longer'.[54] At the beginning of the next year, Bourchier reported from Belgrade that there were rumours 'with regard to a plot formed by the military conspirators for the

53 *The Times*, October 18, 1905, p. 7 d ('First Servian University').

54 *The Times*, October 31, 1905, p. 5 e, f ('The Outlook in Servia').

assassination of their principal opponents' who had formed 'a league for the settlement of the question of the conspirators and of the difficulty with England by legal means'.[55]

The Renewal of Diplomatic Relations with Serbia

The intentions of the Serbian and Bulgarian Governments to sign a commercial convention, and the decisive resistance of Austria-Hungary to accept it slowly changed the tone of *The Times*. Nevertheless, Bourchier was persistent in his descriptions of the rule of the regicides in Serbia. He sent a very long dispatch from Belgrade, on 1 February, 1906, stating that the regicides still pronounced 'the decisive word in all important matters of State, and the civil as well as the military administration' was 'practically under their control'. All the troops in the capital and its neighbourhood were at the disposal of the conspirators. Moreover, 'the custody of the King and the Heir-Apparent' was 'in their hands'. Even 'the government of the day' was 'likewise at their mercy', holding its position 'during good behaviour'. However, he noted that some of the senior members of the praetorian camarilla were ready to retire 'on receipt of a lump sum which would enable them to live in affluence abroad', although the proposal of a pension did excite their suspicions. There were also signs of 'considerable nervousness' among some conspirators, and their position was daily becoming 'more insecure'. The general disposition was not in their favour: 'Among the peasants of the interior – the bulk of the population – among the politicians at Belgrade, in the army, and it the upper classes of society, the desire for their downfall is now openly expressed,

55 *The Times,* January 15, 1906, p. 5 b ('The Servian Military Conspirators').

and the conviction prevails that the period of their domination is fast drawing to a close'. The discontent among peasants had a special superstitious background. In Bourchier's opinion they believed that 'the curse of blood-guiltiness' still hung over Serbia. Therefore, 'every visitation of nature, such as the drought of last summer, the failure of the maize, all even the local scarcity of eggs, is attributed to Divine displeasure at the immunity accorded to the crime'.[56]

More interesting was Bourchier's interpretation of the effects of the international situation on Serbia. The Russian defeat, in the Russo-Japanese War, in 1905, produced upon the Balkan peoples 'the growing conviction', that England was henceforth 'destined to play a leading part in the maintenance of their liberty and independence'. The attitude of Russia in the Macedonian question shook the belief of the Slavonic nations in the sincerity of Russia's desire. 'On the other hand, the noble work of humanity carried out by unofficial England in Macedonia after the insurrection and, still more, the strenuous efforts of Lord Lansdowne... have awakened a strongly sympathetic feeling towards the Power which, for many years after the Berlin Treaty, was held to have riveted the chains of the Christians in European Turkey'.[57]

As regards the dispute between Serbia and Austria-Hungary over the commercial convention with Bulgaria, Bourchier expressed sympathies 'to a little nation which endeavours to vindicate its economic and political interests in the face of enormous odds'. However, Serbia entered 'upon the campaign without the necessary preparation and the necessary war mate-

56 *The Times*, February 9, 1906, p. 8 c ('The Situation in Servia').

57 *Ibid*, p. 8 d.

rial'. He concluded with a recommendation: 'Before braving the foreigner Servia would do well to set her house in order and to regain the respect and confidence of the civilized world'.[58]

An editorial of *The Times* dealing with the Balkan affairs, and published in the same issue was very much based on the Bourchier article previously quoted. It states that to Englishmen 'there will not appear anything very heinous or unnatural in the Serbo-Bulgarian combination... To us a permanent Serbo-Bulgarian feud would be much more regrettable than a Serbo-Bulgarian understanding'. Furthermore, Serbia is interested in economic relations with Britain in order to liberate herself from 'her economic servitude to Austria-Hungary', but since the break-up of the diplomatic relations, trade between the two countries had fallen considerably. Therefore the renewal of diplomatic relations was very important. The Serbian public generally believed that the dismissal of the regicides was 'an indispensable condition to the renewal of Anglo-Serbian relations', and it was 'right in that belief'. Finally, the editorial concludes:

> *We have no grudge against the Servian people, but, on the contrary, every sympathy with them and regard for their many excellent qualities, and we think it desirable on every ground that diplomatic relations should be restored. Our mutual interests counsel it, and the general situation in the Balkans calls for it even more. But such a resumption is not possible while the regicides still hold sway at Belgrade. In what precise manner they are to be pensioned off is no concern of ours. We do not call for infliction of any punishment upon them. But dismissed they should be, and in the interests of our mutual relations it*

58 *Ibid*, p. 8 d, e.

is to be hoped that their dismissal will not be long delayed.[59]

These articles attracted considerable attention in Belgrade. In London, C. Miyatovich immediately sent a letter to the Editor of *The Times* thanking him for his 'admirable leader on Servia, so fair to and sympathetic for the Servian nation'. He expressed his hopes that 'all parties in England-and more especially the liberal party, which is by right the heir to the late Mr. Gladstone's friendship for all the Balkan nations' would endorse his conclusions. Furthermore, he pleaded 'openly for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Servia and Great Britain'.[60]

Soon, in April, the Paris correspondent of *The Times*, William Lavino, who was known for his support for the policy of Anglo-French *entente*[61] reported that there was 'reason to believe that the cordial cooperation of England with France at the Algeciras Conference' would 'in the future be extended as far as possible to other parts of the world'. Such an occasion was likely 'to be provided before long in the Near East', and there were people who now considered that it would 'be desirable to fill the post of British Minister at Belgrade'. But, there was an obstacle to it consisting 'in the maintenance of the regicides in their present positions'. There seemed, however, 'to be every disposition on the part of the Servian Ministry to place in retirement the ringleaders, if they were only sure that the British Government would be satisfied with that measure'. Moreover, German economic penetration in Servia, Bulgaria, and Turkey was 'proceeding steadily and unostentatiously' and Germany had

59 *The Times*, February 9, 1906, p. 7 e (editorial).

60 *The Times*, February 13, 1906, p. 7 c.

61 *The History of The Times* (London: The Office of The Times, 1947), p. 649.

'already succeeded in almost monopolizing the Near Eastern markets'. Therefore, 'if allowed to continue, it would soon establish German preponderance so firmly that it would be impossible to contend against it'. Especially, because 'in that part of Europe political influence is closely associated with economic progress, a circumstance which here at all events gives ground for serious reflection'.[62]

The Serbian Government now started to yield to the British conditions. Reuter's reported on 29 May that: 'The King has signed a decree which will appear in the Gazette to-morrow, placing the principal regicides on the retired list'.[63] Three weeks later *The Times* shortly noted: 'The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. J. B. Whitehead, Councillor to his Majesty's Embassy at Berlin, to be his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary at Belgrade'.[64] On the occasion of the appointment of J. B. Whitehead the *The Westminster Gazette* ran the same article as the issue of *The Times* of the same date.[65]

The crisis in diplomatic relations started with enormous coverage by the British Press. The act of the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the United Kingdom and the Kingdom of Serbia, however, failed to attract attention in London. Even *The Times* with its network of correspondents based its coverage on Reuter's dispatches.

The Times had a very harsh stance towards the Belgrade regicide. Its Balkan correspondent Bourchier was very persistent in insisting that the regicide must be punished before diplomatic

62 *The Times,* April 11, 1906, p. 5 e ('England, France and Servia').

63 *The Times,* May 30, 1906, ('The Servian Regicides'), p. 5 c.

64 *The Times,* June 19, 1906, p. 9 f ('Political Notes. New Minister at Belgrade').

65 *The Westminster Gazette*, June, 19, 1906, p. 8 b.

relations were to be re-established. However, a special publication of *The Times*, published only two years after the re-establishment of diplomatic relations, demonstrates that even strong moral condemnation may easily sink into oblivion. It was *The Historians' History of the World*, a collection of works on the history of the world 'recorded by the great writers of all ages'. Some twenty pages in this monumental edition, consisting of twenty-five large volumes, are dedicated to Serbia. This is how the regicide was recorded:

> *A military conspiracy was formed, and the king and queen were brutally murdered in the palace at Belgrade, soon after midnight on June 11th, 1903. The premier, the minister of war, and the two brothers of the king were also killed. A provisional government was at once formed, which proclaimed the constitution of 1888 and invited Prince Peter Karageorgevich to become king. In spite of the horror felt at the unnecessary brutality of the proceedings, public sympathy in foreign countries was generally with the revolutionists, as King Alexander had lost public respect. In Belgrade itself there was great rejoicing.*[66]

Obviously, 'the horror of brutality' had not been forgotten, but it was more than relativised only five years after the regicide.

II. BRITISH OPINION MAKERS

The May Coup was widely reported in British periodicals. However, one can hardly detect any special policy of British

66 Henry Smith Williams (ed.), *The Historians History of the World. A Comprehensive Narrative of the Rise and Development of Nations as Recorded by the Great Writers of All Ages* (25 vols. London: The Times, 1908), vol. 24, p. 205.

periodicals towards Serbia. Instead, personal affinities often encouraged individuals dealing with Serbia and the Balkans rather than some specific policy of their journals.

The Steads

Among Victorian journalists who always insisted that their consciousness should lead them in the writing of articles, the most prominent was William Thomas Stead (1849–1912). His father was a congregational minister and he was consequently brought up in a Puritan atmosphere, with Oliver Cromwell as his idol. His deeply religious nonconformist positions led him to spiritualism in his later years. As the Assistant Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* (from 1880), and especially after becoming the Editor (in 1883), he was considered 'the most powerful journalist in the island'.[67] His innovations influenced British journalism substantially, while his exposures of public evils had such an influence that legislation was even enacted as a consequence of his campaigns. Such was the case in his campaign against the white slave traffic in 1885. Five years later Stead founded *The Review of Reviews,* a monthly, which proved to be a great success. Throughout his career he was a champion of Anglo-Russian co-operation. During the Peace Conference in The Hague, in 1899, Stead addressed a series of weekly letters to Nicholas II. As his biographer Sir Frederic White pointed out: 'these letters constitute, doubtless, the only instance in history of an Englishman acting as "special correspondent" and political

67 Dennis Griffiths (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press 1422–1992* (London: Macmillan Press, 1992), s. v. 'Stead, William Thomas', p. 532.

adviser to a Tsar of Russia'.[68] During the Boer War 'Stead was the most uncompromising of all the opponents of the war in South Africa (1899–1902), and thereby he accentuated his unpopularity'.[69] Similarly to Kinglake in his later years, Stead was under the influence of Madam Olga Kireyeva Novikova, once called by Disraeli a Russian MP.[70] In the 1890s, he became very interested in psychical matters, and was Editor of *Borderland*, a periodical devoted to this subject. He published, in 1897, *Letters from Julia*, a selection of spiritualist communications which he believed he wrote involuntarily with his own hand, through the departed spirit of an American lady named Julia Ames.[71]

The lead story in *The Review of Reviews*, in its issue of July 1903, was the news about the 'Servian massacre'. The journal pointed out that 'the civilised world was startled' by the news on the regicide, and 'it was even more amazed when it learned that the perpetrators of the massacre considered them-

68 Sir Frederic White, *The Life of W. T. Stead* (2 vols. London, New York and Boston: Johnatan Cape Ltd. and Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925), vol. II, p. 154. In his advocacy of Anglo-Russian co-operation Stead was in no way alone in Britain. Describing the situation before the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) Élie Halévy concludes: 'In fact, for the past ten years there had always been Englishmen in favour of an understanding with Russia, more, indeed, than those who had advocated an understanding with France'. Élie Halévy, *A History of the English People. Book III,* p. 177.

69 Frederic William Whyte, s. v. 'Stead, William Thomas', *The Dictionary of National Biography, 1912–1921,* p. 508.

70 For more details on Olga Kireyeva Novikova see R. W. Seton-Watson, *Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question. A Study in Diplomacy and Party Politics* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1972), pp. 115–118.

71 Frederic William Whyte, *op. cit*., p. 508.

selves marvels of heroic patriotism'.[72] The May Coup was a new opportunity for Stead to revive his condemnation of the Boer War. Commenting on the claims of the regicides that they adopted methods of barbarism against their will because an *aide-de-camp* had made an attack 'upon the heroic Servian army', Stead ironically noted that the regicides 'no more intended to kill the king than Lord Salisbury intended to annex territory or to seize goldfields'.[73] Stead was one of few Englishmen who personally had known the chief regicide, Colonel Mashin, from the time of the Hague Peace Conference. Mashin left an impression on him of 'a quite, mild man', whom he 'would no more have suspected of assassination' than he 'could have anticipated that an equally pleasant man, Lord Milner, would drench South Africa in blood'.[74]

Stead was related to the May Coup in the most extraordinary way. Two prominent British journalists had some knowledge of the preparations to kill the Serbian Royal Couple. Wickham Steed found out about the preparations from von Kállay, Stead, characteristically for him, found out about it in a clairvoyant vision! Being an adherent to spiritualism, Stead had organised one of many clairvoyant sessions in March 1903. The result of the session that took place on the night of 20 March, 1903, in Stead's opinion was that 'the bloody tragedy in the palace was seen clairvoyantly three months before it took place, and described in the hearing of at least a dozen credible witnesses'.[75] For

72 *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 28 (July 1903), p. 3.

73 *Ibid*, p. 3.

74 *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 28 (July 1903), p. 5.

75 W. T. Stead, 'A Clairvoyant Vision of the Assassination at Belgrade', *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 28 (1903), p. 31.

Stead these sessions were a kind of scientific experiments. So, when it turned out that the session in March might have prophesised the murder of the royal couple in Belgrade, Stead dedicated himself to the scientific collecting of data on that session. This was an especially important task for him, because the session was reported the world over. Almost all the British dailies, as well as the American and continental press, commented on the prophecy.[76]

One of the guests at the session was the Serbian Minister in London, Chedomille Miyatovich. Thanks to his interviews the British press was able to publish stories about the prophecy immediately after the news on the Belgrade regicide reached London. Miyatovich had left the session before the medium, Mrs. Julia Burchell, was able to make a clairvoyant reading of an envelope brought by him, containing the signature of King Alexander Obrenovich. However, the other guests, including Stead, later confirmed that the clairvoyant upon taking the envelope became very agitated describing a vision in which a King was killed with a Queen next to him. This event took place on 20 March, 1903. Miyatovich found out about it the next day from one of the participants. Being himself an ardent spiritualist he immediately sent a letter to King Alexander warning him that he had 'reason to believe that an attempt would be made to murder him in his own Palace'.[77]

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76 See *The Westminster Gazette,* 11 June, 1903, p. 7 b; *The New York Times*, 12 June, 1903, p. 2 c ('A Clairvoyant's Prediction').

77 Chedomille Mijatovich, *The Memoirs of a Balkan Diplomatist*, p. 181. Miyatovich claims that when he visited Belgrade, in 1914, he found that it was 'common knowledge that the conspirators had opened a safe in the bedroom of the King and Queen and discovered in it my letter warning the King', *Ibid*, p. 182.

In the meantime, Stead became so obsessed with the prophecy to conclude that 'the famous warning of the soothsayer who warned Julius Caesar to beware of the Ides of March sinks into insignificance' if it is 'compared with this remarkable instance of clairvoyant vision',[78] and he started to fill his *Review* with news and polemics concerning this prophecy. However, the Society for Psychical Research did not share his delight, rejecting his proof as insufficient. Reacting against this, Stead wrote a long story in *The Review of Reviews* on how the Society for Psychical Research investigated the story underlying that 'no prophecy of our time has been noised abroad so widely', and in both the Old and the New world the press was ringing 'with the report of the clairvoyant vision which was afterwards so singularly realised'.[79] At the end Stead accused the Society of having an 'utterly absurd self-stultifying policy'.[80] Now the President of the Society felt obliged to reply. He was a prominent British physicist, Sir Oliver Joseph Lodge (1851–1940), the first principal of the new Birmingham University (in 1900). Like Stead he believed strongly in the possibility of communicating with the dead, and wanted to implement scientific research on it.[81]

The whole affair with the clairvoyant vision added a new, mystical aspect to the Belgrade tragedy. Since mystery and the

78 W. T. Stead, 'A Clairvoyant Vision of the Assassination at Belgrade', *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 28 (1903), p. 31.

79 W. T. Stead, 'How the Society for Psychical Research Investigated the Servian Story', *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 28 (1903), p. 146.

80 *Ibid*, p. 149.

81 'A Defence of the Psychical Research Society. An Open Letter to Mr. W. T. Stead by the President, Sir Oliver Lodge', *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 28 (1903), pp. 260–261. Stead replied to this letter in the same issue of his *Review* (*Ibid*, p. 261); for later references to the clairvoyant vision see, for instance: Harry De Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, p. 147.

Orient have usually gone hand-in-hand in western imagination, this incident undoubtedly helped the re-orientalisation of Serbia that will be treated later.

After the affair with the prophecy had calmed down, Stead continued to cover events in Serbia. He commented on the 'tardy indignation' of the Austrian Emperor when he decided to withdraw his Minister from Belgrade: 'Whether this course would have been adopted had Servia been other than a minor State is doubtful, but where would the consciousness of the Great Powers have opportunity to show their workings if so insignificant nations existed ?' In Stead's opinion many saw in the withdrawal of the Austrian representative 'not a mark of indignation but rather a diplomatic move to force Servia to submit once more to the overlordship, actual if not acknowledged, of Austria'.[82] Stead was the first to view Austro-Hungarian moves in this way. *The Times* took the same attitude two years later.

A friend of Stead's, a prominent British journalist, Dr Emile Joseph Dillon (1851–1932), a special correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph* from Russia (from 1887, till 1914)[83] also wrote a very interesting paper on the May Coup.

Having in mind the general lines of W. T. Stead's activity, it is not surprising that his son Alfred Stead (1877–1933) became a champion of the re-establishment of Anglo-Serbian diplomatic relations. Stead Junior was an expert on Japan and wrote several books about the country. Gradually, his interest shifted from the Far East to the Near East, especially to Romania and Serbia. He visited Serbia in 1905, submitting a memorandum to the Serbian Prime Minister on 13 August, entitled 'Memoranda sur les

82 *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 29 (1904), p. 6.

83 About Dillon see Dennis Griffiths (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press* (London: Macmillan Press, 1992), p. 201.

Relations entre l'Angleterre et la Serbie'. In A. Stead's opinion the best solution for Serbia was to follow English foreign policy in Europe. The Liberals were heading for power and they would have a Bulgarophile policy. Therefore Serbia should immediately establish connections with England so that the Liberals, when they come to power, would not be able to challenge already established relations. In order to arouse England's interest in Serbia, the latter should arrange an English loan. Then England would be compelled to protect its economic interests in Serbia, as was the case with Morocco. The loan should be 87,500,000 francs, and Serbia could use it to buy weapons and to build a railway, which were two key issues for Serbia. Stead also proposed a mining concession for English companies. Finally he proposed a book 'pour instruire l'opinion publique en Angleterre'.[84]

As soon as he returned from Serbia he endeavoured to influence British public opinion in two ways: 1. By advocating the renewal of diplomatic relations with Serbia, and, 2. By publishing papers aimed at improving the image of Serbia in Britain. His first texts were cautious. His letter to *The Times* followed Bourchier's condemnation of Austro-Hungarian policy as regards her condemnation of the Serbo-Bulgarian Convention and the similarly phrased editorial (in the issue of 9 February, 1906), and was published in the next day's issue. Having expressed his doubts about the further break-up of diplomatic relations with Serbia he pointed out: 'The shadow of Austria is always heavy upon the Servian people, and the past few years have not been without indications that the authorities in Vienna would welcome, as a pretext for occupation, any internal trouble such as might easily arise from any attempt to remove conspira-

84 ASANU, No. 12880/3.

tors by force'. Therefore it was logical for him to conclude that events in the Near East 'make it a matter of mutual importance that there should be diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Servia', and Britain should not 'neglect justice and fair play towards a small State for the satisfaction of being able to revel in a high moral standard above our fellows'.[85]

The affair concerning the Serbo-Bulgarian convention gave him an opportunity to express his beliefs concerning British foreign policy in the Balkans. Stead thought that Austrian resistance to this convention made it clear that she did not wish 'to see real progress in that part of Europe'.[86] He estimated that in the future the Convention might 'develop into a true customs union', and it seemed to him that almost 'some unseen but potent force' led these two nations 'to martyr themselves for the good of the Balkan peoples in hastening the day of a Balkan confederation'.[87] Stead characterised the decision of the Viennese authorities to close the borders to Serbian pigs as ''diplomatic swine fever,' a contagious disease, prevalent when Servia opposes Austrian desires'.[88] Romania, Serbia and Bulgaria had already experienced Austro-Hungarian 'arbitrary demands'. Romania withstood her, 'and therefore there is hope for Servia and Bulgaria'. Stead was struck that 'it should be possible for one nation to starve another, for a great nation to crush a weaker by commercial stagnation'. It sounded 'incredible in the present day', yet it was actually taking place.[89]

85 *The Times*, February 10, 1906, p. 8 e ('Situation in Servia').

86 Alfred Stead, 'The Serbo-Bulgarian Convention and its Results', *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 79 (March 1906), p. 537.

87 *Ibid*, p. 538.

88 *Ibid*, p. 541.

89 *Ibid*, p. 542.

Stead explained what Britain was to do. In his opinion, in the Balkans, she had 'no position at all', and the British seemed to him 'passively determined to leave all the great opportunities of the South-East of Europe severely alone, to enrich the Germans, the Austrians, or the French'. Finally, he came to the question of Anglo-Serbian relations. While Serbia 'has of course no right to ask us to reopen relations, but she has a right to know upon what grounds we stand, and what conditions we wish her to fulfil before we are ready to reopen relations'. The re-establishment of relations would demonstrate that Britons 'sympathise in the struggle of the small States, with liberal ideas for liberty, for the right of being friends with their neighbours'. Moreover, although the regicides were Serbians, 'the idea was inspired and promoted in St. Petersburg', and it was always thus in Serbia 'the statesmen of Vienna and St. Petersburg devise the *coups d'états*, and leave them to their Servian instruments to execute'.[90]

Persistent in his advocacy of the Balkan federation, Alfred Stead endeavoured to portray two Balkan kings to the British public. He started with the Romanian King, Charles I Hohenzollern. Romania once a Turkish vassal state was now 'standing proudly erect amongst the European nations'. Instead of the former chaos and corruption there was 'an orderly State, bound in friendly alliance with Great Powers'. And all of this was the 'work of one man... one who stands in the very forefront of the categories of sovereigns, past and present'.[91]

In June 1906, diplomatic relations were re-established and William T. Stead shortly noted that the British Government 'has at last condescended to enter into diplomatic relations with

90 *Ibid*, p. 545.

91 Alfred Stead, 'King Charles I. of Roumania', *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 80 (July 1906), p. 1.

Servia', agreeing 'to let bygones be bygones'.[92] In the same issue Stead Junior published a character sketch of another Balkan ruler, King Peter, in an obvious effort to exonerate him. Stead found that it was 'the irony of fate that the most constitutional of Servian monarchs should have been summoned to the throne as the result of a bloody tragedy which wiped out a dynasty...'[93] The future King knew that his refusal of the crown 'meant in all probability the end of the separate existence of Servia and the incorporation of the Servian people in the Austrian Empire'. For, in Vienna the statesmen 'were only waiting a pretext to cross the Danube and occupy Servia, as they have already occupied the Servian provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina'. The coming of King Peter marked 'a new era',[94] and Serbia gained in King Peter 'a highly educated, well read, and broad-minded sovereign, who was able to infuse into her government many of the most beneficial elements of Western constitutional systems'.[95] Stead even depicted King Peter as 'a great admirer of Great Britain', and it was 'a very real sorrow to King Peter that the first years of his reign should be shadowed by the refusal of the British Government to send a Minister to Belgrade'. Serbia, though a small state, 'is large and very considerable factor in the future of the Austrian Empire and the Balkan peninsula', and there was no reason for Britain to abandon 'the rich resources of the country to more enterprising Germans, whose ideas are not without taint of political aspiration'.[96]

92 *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 34 (September 1906), p. 229.

93 Alfred Stead, 'Character Sketches. King Peter of Servia', *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 34 (September 1906), p. 245.

94 *Ibid*, p. 247.

95 *Ibid*, p. 248.

96 *Ibid*, p. 250.

A. Stead soon drafted his wider ideas concerning British foreign policy. Now he turned the attention of the British public to the link between 'pan-islamism' and German foreign policy. He was struck by the Kaiser's declaration that ''the 300,000,000 Mohammedans who, dwelling dispersed throughout the East, reverence in his Majesty the Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid their Khalif, may rest assured that at all times the German Emperor will be their friend.''[97] Now pan-islamism was 'no longer a mere phrase coined for convenience of orators'. It was 'an active reality, appalling in its promise of causing far-reaching disintegration and danger'.[98] Stead found it unfortunate that it was 'still so possible for misguided enthusiasts or well-meaning but impolitic Ministers of War to lead the British public into forgetting the fundamentally inimical policy of Germany in individual Anglo-German friendship'.[99] However, there was a remedy for this problem. It consisted not only in controlling the Sultan, but also in coping 'efficiently with that sovereign who is anxious to act at one and the same time as the right-hand of God and the understudy of Mahomet'. Therefore 'without embracing Germany and the German Emperor any attempt to control the movement in the Mohammedan world would be futile and foredoomed to failure'.[100] To achieve this, Britain had 'one certain and easy method' for controlling 'the systematic spread of Pan-Islamism'. It was 'to enter into friendly understandings with the three States bordering the Danube in the Balkan Peninsula – Rumania, Servia, and Bulgaria'.[101] If Britain failed to do this, the alternative was 'the loss of an unparalleled opportunity

97 A. Stead, 'Pan-Islamism: Some Dangers and Remedy', *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 80 (October 1906), p. 589.

98 *Ibid*, p. 585.

99 *Ibid*, p. 598.

100 *Ibid*, p. 595.

101 *Ibid*, p. 597.

in the Balkans, followed by the handing over of these countries to Germany, and the unrestricted growth of Pan-Islamism'.[102]

A. Stead soon explained what other consequence this new coalition might have. Namely, 'the Europe of the nineteenth century' was passing and 'a new Europe' was 'in a process of formation' with 'new national forces' on the rise.[103] This practically meant that a multinational state like Austria-Hungary 'inevitably... must disappear'. It was no question 'of a sudden collapse'. It was 'the result of national forces working in opposite directions'.[104] In this scenario Serbia, had a special role to play. Her confrontation with Austria-Hungary and the subsequent Tariff War led Stead to conclude:

> *In Servia it is the Servian people, the entire nation, who have awakened, and it is because this awakening has been manifest in the struggle with the Austrian Empire that the proud position must be assigned to Servia of having unleashed the forces destroying her great neighbour. Just as David killed Goliath, so Servia has begun the disintegration of the Austrian Empire. Thus the arrival of Servia to a truer sense of her national possibilities has become a European event of the first importance, not a mere minor evolution to be passed over without much notice.*

Now, that Serbia and Romania seemed inevitable to come closer, new forces came into being in South-Eastern Europe and the Foreign Office was supposed 'to take steps, so that we may

102 *Ibid*, p. 601.

103 A. Stead, 'The Situation in the Near East', *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 81 (1907), p. 695.

104 *Ibid*, p. 696.

stand well in those quarters'. Moreover, since Germany was trying to counteract the growing Anglo-Russian entente by closing the Baltic, the adequate reply was to destroy 'the last certain member of the Triple Alliance, barring way to Asia Minor, and standing in the best possible relations to the new, federated Power, which will come into being in South-Eastern Europe! A somewhat bold step in foreign policy perhaps, but Fortune favours the bold!'[105]

Finally in 1909, the book which Stead discussed with the Serbian Prime Minister in 1905, was published. As already stated its principal aim was 'pour instruire l'opinion publique en Angleterre'. The book, entitled *Servia by the Servians,* was dedicated 'by special permission to His Majesty King Peter I. of Servia'. This book aimed to improve the image of the Kingdom of Serbia in British public opinion. It is comprised of 25 articles written by prominent Serbian politicians and intellectuals. A typical article was the one entitled 'The Head of State', written by Dr. Dinich, physician and private Secretary to the King. This is how he described the May Coup and the accession of King Peter:

> *Scarcely four years later the most faithful partisans of the Obrenovich turned, after the death of King Milan, against his son, and executed terrible drama of the 11th June, 1903.*
>
> *On arriving on Servian soil, the first words which King Peter pronounced were that he wished to ''forget'' and ''forgive'' and demanded that all should be forgotten and pardoned... King Peter wished to break with the tradition which exacted from the new dynasty the*

105 Alfred Stead (ed.), *Servia by the Servians* (London: William Heinemann, 1909), p. 707.

persecution – the extermination even – of the adherents of the old.[106]

This book was shaped to serve the image of Serbia desired by the Serbian Government. For this purpose a description of brutalities was omitted and moral judgements avoided. It is not therefore surprising that many Serbian historians later followed this pattern in describing the May Coup.

Who Was Who, 1920–1930 says about A. Stead that he 'was instrumental in securing the renewal of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Servia'.[107] However, it is difficult to say what his real influence was although some Serbian Prime Ministers very carefully listened to his advice.

Herbert Vivian

Among Britons who took part in the creation of the image of Serbia and the Balkans, one person should be given a special attention. He was the author of the book *Servia, the Poor Man's Paradise*, the title of which persisted as a powerful metaphor for quite a long time.[108] The abundance of articles and books on the Balkans that he left over a long span of time enables us to perceive a pattern that is not so obvious in other cases.

106 Ibid, p. 40.

107 *Who Was Who, 1929–1940* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1980), p. 1283.

108 Many authors dealing with Serbia referred to this appellation of Vivian's. See Mrs. Northesk Wilson, *Belgrade the White City of Death*, p. 27; Harry De Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, p. 167; *The Times*, 16 May, 1932, p. 12 d (Obituary. 'Count Miyatovich').

Herbert Vivian's first works on Serbia reveal exotic and infantile motifs that existed in portraying the Balkans among some British travellers. Vivian, an admirer of the Stuarts, came to the Balkans with an obvious idea to find their modern equivalent. His vivid imagination quickly turned Serbia into a land 'possessing a history more wonderful than any fair tale, and a race of heroes and patriots who may one day set Europe by the ears'.[109] He even found a royal family that fascinated him. Moreover, the fascination was mutual which led the Serbian King to decorate Vivian, while in return the Serbian King was immortalised in Vivian's book as 'one of the most interesting figures in the whole Balkan peninsula'.[110]

Vivian continued to write about the Serbian royal couple. Just several weeks before the May Coup, Vivian's article was published in *The Pall Mall Magazine*.[111] 'Like all good Tories', King Alexander Obrenovich was 'above all a patriot', having behind him 'the great mass of the people'.[112] He was 'a living proof of Disraeli's dictum that nature is stronger than education'.[113] Moreover, Vivian summed him up as 'the King who never tires', and who even 'never makes mistakes'.[114] This characterisation of King Alexander led W. T. Stead to remark: 'I wish we could believe what Mr. Vivian says about the King,

109 Herbert Vivian, *Servia, the Poor Man's Paradise*, p. vii.

110 *Ibid*, p. 1; In a later article he mentioned that he saw King Alexander 'a hundred times'. Herbert Vivian, 'A Glorious Revolution in Servia', *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 79 (July 1903), p. 70.

111 Herbert Vivian, 'The King of Servia and his Court', *The Pall Mall Magazine*, vol. 29 (April, 1903).

112 *Ibid*, p. 509.

113 *Ibid*, p. 511.

114 *Ibid*, p. 518.

but a gentleman who is lost in adoring admiration of such people as our Stuarts is a very unsafe guide'.[115] Vivian's adoration of the Obrenoviches was known in Serbia. Mary Durham, who visited Serbia at the end of 1902, heard from people that the only 'English tourist' who had lately written about Serbia, 'had done great harm by writing up the Obrenovich. People were very bitter indeed about this, and begged me to tell England the true state of things'.[116] Ironically, Vivian's new royal heroes perished similarly to his 17th century idol. Now, he started to wake up from his sweet Serbian dream. The Serbs had lost their heroic nature, but still his hopes were kept.

His initial reaction, in the already quoted article[117] written one day after the regicide, was that until further information reached him he declined to believe that 'this crime' had 'the countenance of the Servian nation'.[118] Soon in an article written for July's issue of *The Fortnightly Review* he repeated his disgust: 'A patriotic young King, his fair consort, his chief ministers, and his faithful servants have been butchered with inhuman atrocity; the murderers have gloried in their infamy...' Yet 'on the very day of the holocaust, when the mangled corpses of a King and Queen were being exposed to the outrages of frenzied fiends, there was never a pause in the pomp and circumstance and revelry of European Courts'.[119] Still for Vivian

115 W. T. Stead, 'King Alexander of Servia. Mr. Herbert Vivian's Latest Find', *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 27 (January-June 1903), p. 372.

116 Mary E. Durham, *Through the Lands of the Serb* (London: Edward Arnold, 1904), p. 256.

117 See p. 97.

118 *The Westminster Gazette*, June 12, 1903, p. 1 c (Herbert Vivian, 'The Servian Massacre. In Praise of the King and Queen').

119 Herbert Vivian, 'A "Glorious Revolution" in Servia', *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 79 (July 1903), p. 67.

'the late Revolution was not the handiwork of Servia. It was engineered by the law cunning of a handful of discredited ruffians',[120] although he remarked that 'we should all of us esteem Servia more highly if a few hundreds of her sons had protested, even though the act had cost their lives'. After all he still believed that 'chivalry and honour cannot be altogether dead in a people which has already produced so many heroes in the past'. He only wished 'that a few more brave men had now been found to belie the unanimous acceptance of the most barbarous crime in history'.[121] In his estimation the Serbian nation was 'put back at least a century', and 'whether it must be relegated to the dark ages or blotted out altogether will depend on the events of the next few years'. If he were a bookmaker, 'he would gladly lay very long odds against the reign of Prince Peter outlasting the year'. He finished his article sadly. He was a mere mourner of his beloved King, of a Queen whose character he admired. And he mourned 'a country which I loved next to my own'.[122]

The time passed but the Serbs did not approach the day of expiation, King Peter was still in power and Vivian seemed to be awakening. In 1904 he published a new book *Servian Tragedy with Some Impressions of Macedonia*. He dedicated the book 'to the memory of His most Gracious Majesty King Alexander I. Patriot, Statesman, Hero. Requiescat in Pace'. He felt that in new circumstances he was obliged to make some clarifications:

> *I protest that my admiration is undiminished for the kindly hospitable people, who worked out their own eman-*

120 *Ibid*, p. 73.

121 *Ibid*, p. 74.

122 *Ibid*, p. 75.

cipation... I regard the terrible crime of last June as the handiwork of the new desperadoes and I believe that Servia is to be pitted rather than blamed...

At the same time I must confess to the feeling of dismay, aroused by the absence of commotion and protest when the facts of the tragedy became known.[123]

Vivian's complete account of the regicide sent a clear message to the British public that something terrible indeed had happened in Belgrade. In his words: 'Out of all these confused reports two facts stand clear. The murders were committed with the utmost barbarity, such as would not be expected in the most savage country...'[124] Vivian's imagination was still vivid, and he found new persons to sympathise with in the Balkans – Balkan brigands. For him 'the Balkans were still mediaeval', and brigands were 'an appropriate mediaeval topic; it was like meeting the ghost of Sir Walter Scott and extracting fresh tales of a grandfather'. He felt so well acquainted with 'real brigands' as to be able to design their characterisation: 'The real brigand is usually a political refugee, who only desires to be let alone and is content if he can steal enough to keep body and soul together, or else a political emissary who travels about trying to force an unwilling peasantry into revolution'.[125]

In his memoirs he described his activities concerning Serbia after the May Coup. He was disappointed by the decision of the United Kingdom to renew diplomatic relations with Serbia, and he 'kept up a campaign in Press and Parliament against this'.

123 Herbert Vivian, *The Servian Tragedy with Some Impressions from Macedonia* (London: Grant Richards, 1904).

124 *Ibid,* p. 109.

125 Herbert Vivian, *The Servian Tragedy*, p. 254.

The Serbian Press Bureau invited the editor to be received in Belgrade and Vivian replied: ' I was willing to go out and inquire into "the sobriety of Peter Karageorgevitch and the sanity of his son", provided that the Serbian Government first lodged £20,000 in a bank for the benefit of my widow'.[126] Vivian even claimed that, being persistent in his campaign, he was later offered by a Serbian emissary either the sum of £5,000, or his murder should he refuse. He sent the Press a letter, entitled 'Reasons why I ought to be assassinated'. Later he was even engaged in a movement, in 1907, to offer the crown of Serbia to Prince Arthur of Connaught, and he supplied conspirators with some thousands of his photographs. 'But either they failed to please, or the Prince had no ambitions in that direction, for nothing further happened'.[127]

Vivian was still involved in the Serbian national plans. Only now he shifted his support from Serbia to Montenegro. Being aware of his sympathies, the Montenegrin Government considered at the end of 1908 to appoint him the Honorary Consul of Montenegro in London.[128] However, the Serbian Government dissatisfied with Vivian's articles urged the Montenegrin Government not to appoint him, and the Montenegrin Government abandoned its plan.[129] In the midst of the First

126 (Herbert Vivian), *Myself not Least*, *Being the Personal Reminiscences of 'X'* (London: Thornton Butterworth Ltd., 1925), p. 225.

127 *Ibid*, p. 225. This probably happened in 1905, and not in 1907.

128 AS, Legation of the Kingdom of Serbia in London, file 1, Administrative Archives, Confidential, no number specified, December 9, 1908.

129 AS, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, microfilm, Nos. 2453 of 13 December, 1908 and VI/406 of 19 December, 1908; The Serbian Minister at Cettigne was told in the Montenegrin Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Vivian himself asked to be appointed Honorary Consul of Montenegro.

Balkan War he advocated the territorial expansion of Montenegro: 'Give the Sanjak to Montenegro, and Servia will not have far to look for a sovereign when the time comes to replace her bloodstained dynasty with the monarch worthy of Dushan's glorious traditions. Montenegro contains all the fine flower of Servian chivalry, and has maintained her independence against the encroachments of empires all through centuries'.[130] He soon reiterated this, hoping that King Nicholas would unite Serbia and Montenegro, 'thereby ending the regicide terrorism of the last nine years and restoring greater Servia, almost the Servia of Dushan, to her old place among civilised nations'.[131] Discussing Romanian demands for compensation after the First Balkan War, he expressed his general opinion of Balkan Christians. He pointed out that the Romanians 'developed their civilisation and culture', while 'Bulgarians, and Servians and Greeks were downtrodden peasants'. 'Is it then strange', Vivian asked, 'that Roumania should deserve a preponderating influence in the peninsula, when the others remain semi-savages steeped in ignorance and corruption?'[132]

What is evident from his memoirs, published in 1925, is that his disillusionment with Serbia was complete. He starts a chapter dedicated to Serbia with the following passage from Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*: 'The bulk of your natives appear to me to be the most pernicious race of little, odious vermin that Nature ever suffered to crawl upon the face of the earth'. Having described the Serbs in this way he referred to his

130 Herbert Vivian, 'Montenegro', *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 92 (November 1912), p. 858.

131 Herbert Vivian, 'After the War', *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 93 (February 1913), p. 320.

132 *Ibid*, p. 313.

visits to Serbia in the 1890s when 'the country was backward, but happy'. In his opinion the Russians were those who 'helped a few discharged officers to murder him (King Alexander) and Queen Draga'.[133] He described King Peter as a person with 'drunken reputation' from Geneva, and 'he was a poor creature, and submitted to snubs from everybody'.[134] Characteristically, the only Serbs that looked sympathetically to him were again brigands. Describing Montenegro, his contempt for Serbia was turned into hatred. This is how he described the event following unification between Serbia and Montenegro: 'Wherever the Serbians went, flames and massacres and pillage followed in their train. Every day a fresh village was destroyed'.[135] Vivian even gave a description of a murder of two pro-independence Montenegrins: 'They were assassinated... their eyes were torn out, their ears were cut off and their tongues were passed through a hole made in their jaws; they were left in this state for a considerable time and then their entrails were torn out with bayonets'.[136]

Several years later he published *The Life of the Emperor Charles of Austria*. He dedicated the book 'to his Majesty Otto, Emperor of Austria, Apostolic King of Hungary'. Speaking about responsibility for the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand he points out: 'And why see other culprits when the evidence is as clear as daylight that the murders were committed by agents of Serbian secret societies under the direct patronage of the Serbian

133 (Herbert Vivian), *Myself not Least, Being the Personal Reminiscences of 'X'* , p. 221.

134 *Ibid*, p. 224.

135 *Ibid*, p. 204.

136 *Ibid*, p. 205.

Government, with Russia as an accessory before the fact?'[137] Reference to the Belgrade Regicide was unavoidable. The regicides, after they had killed King and Queen, 'set up a terrorist rule which has continued ever since. They established a dynasty of gipsy origin as their puppets, and have continued their career of crime undisturbed'.[138] Moreover, Vivian now mentions that it is related that Peter Karageorgevich himself 'hid in the Russian Legation during the murders and watched the defenestration of the bodies of the King and Queen; then returned to Geneva to await the regicides' summons to the throne'.[139] Finally, this is how he characterised the mood in Serbia after the assassination of the Archduke: 'Serbia indeed suffered from moral insanity, a mass suggestion in favour of murder. Not only did she regard it as practical politics, but her own official year-book recognizes a percentage of murders far greater than in any other European country'.[140]

Vivian's case is very interesting for it reveals a pattern in the perception of the Balkans which has existed ever since the first British travellers visited the region. Namely, those travellers who only had personal ideals in their perception of the Balkans were very easily fascinated by some specific Balkan ruler, people or region. As soon as their ideas proved not to match reality their feelings would easily turn from fascination to disenchantment.

137 Herbert Vivian, *The Life of the Emperor Charles of Austria* (London: Grayson & Grayson, 1932), p. 39.

138 *Ibid*, p. 43.

139 *Ibid*, p. 43.

140 *Ibid*, p. 48.

Mary E. Durham

Two British travellers left very valuable first hand information on the mood of the Serbs about the Obrenoviches, and the reception of the regicide in the Balkans. Mary Durham (1863–1944) was in Serbia on the eve of the fatal event, at the end of 1902. She witnessed the general contempt for the royal couple in Serbia. Speaking of King Alexander she mentions: 'Through all the land I did not hear one good word spoken of him. That he was more fool than knave was the best said of him'. The hatred of the Queen 'was deep and bitter'.[141] In Montenegro the mood was similar. The Montenegrins, having 'the view taken of female virtue' that was 'curiously Old Testament', regarded that Queen Draga 'overstepped all right to protection and consideration'. An elder in a large group of people told her: 'All such women ought to be shot'.[142] She realistically admitted that 'the truth about what took place in the early hours of June 11 will probably never be exactly known. Those who took part in the tragedy were too drunk with blood and passion to give a coherent account, and there are at least a half of dozen versions'.[143] From the other side what the Turkish reception of the regicide was like can be gleaned from Noel Brailsford, who was in Macedonia in the winter of 1903–1904, acting on behalf of the British Relief Fund, together with Miss Durham. He once 'discussed the Belgrade murder with an "educated" Turk', a Pasha, connected by marriage with the Imperial family. Brailsford remarked that the crime was quite unnecessary, since it was so easy to arrest and exile the royal couple. The Pasha

141 Mary E. Durham, *Through the Lands of the Serb*, p. 256.

142 *Ibid*, p. 258.

143 *Ibid*, p. 257.

seemed to agree; '"Yes", said he, "it was very stupid. The civilised thing to do would have been to imprison them, and then quietly, when every one had forgotten about them, to give them poison. Yes. It was a barbarous act!"' The Pasha's reply led Brailsford to conclude about the Turks and the Macedonians: 'In a land where the code of the more enlightened rulers is to murder with elegance and some regard for propriety, one must not apply the moral standards of London or Paris to the conduct of their revolted serfs'.[144]

Durham's account of 'the land of the Serb' is generally very sympathetic to the Serbs. Describing her visit to a provincial town in western Serbia she commented: 'Servia just now has a bad reputation in England; I owe it to Servia to say that in no other land have I met with greater kindness from complete strangers'.[145] This book gives various details on the every-day life of the Serbs in Serbia and Montenegro and this is its most important aspect. Soon M. Durham published several articles explaining her position. She was a great advocate of the emancipation of the Balkan peoples from the Ottoman yoke. Commenting on Turkish reforms she put a question: 'With their notoriously corrupt system of government, how can any sane person believe that the Turks, even if willing, are capable of spreading sweetness and light in this unhappy land?'[146] The free Balkan states looked quite different to her: 'The free Balkan States are supposed by the average Briton to be wild and dangerous places. I can only say, from experience, that both Servia and Montenegro have treated me exceedingly well, and

144 H. N. Brailsford, *Macedonia. Its Races and Their Future* (London: Methuen & Co, 1906), p. xi.

145 M. Durham, *Through the Lands of The Serb*, p. 162.

146 M. Edith Durham, 'The Blaze in the Balkans', *The Monthly Review*, vol. 12 (September 1903), p. 54.

that to go from either of them into Turkey is to plunge from safety and civilisation into danger; from the twentieth century into the Middle Ages; off the pavement into the sewer'.[147] Yet her first impressions about many Balkanites were very stereotypical. In this sense she resembles Miss Stone. First, she had stereotypes of the Albanians, especially the Moslem Albanians and Macedonian peasant women. A Turkish officer asked what her opinion of the Albanians was. She replied: 'The Albanians are very brave and have plenty of intelligence, but they know nothing, and they live like animals'.[148] She similarly described Macedonian peasant women, whom she called somewhat ironically 'my golden sisters':

> *They are stumpy, they are stout, they are heavily built and clumsy, they have faces like Dutch cheeses; they wear their hair in two draggly, skimpy pigtails which they prolong with wool and string... they tie their head up in black handkerchiefs which cover mouth and chin in Mohammedan manner, and their costume is the most unlovely ever yet devised; they call me their 'golden sister'; the yard is full of them, and they are all unutterably filthy.*[149]

And this is how she described the efforts of Macedonian peasant women to get some extra food from the British Relief Fund: 'It is astonishing how slow-witted my golden sisters are, and how impossible it is to drive a new idea into them. Animal-like, they have learnt that food is to be found in a certain spot, and they return and return again'.[150] She admitted that her

147 *Ibid*, p. 57.

148 *Ibid*, p. 61.

149 M. Edith Durham, 'My Golden Sisters. A Macedonian Picture', *The Monthly Review*, vol. 15 (May 1904), p. 73.

150 *Ibid*, p. 76.

opinion about the Macedonian peasants was less than positive: 'I cannot pretend that this peasantry is in any way lovable or admirable. As far as I have seen it, it is the peasantry of the lowest type, dull-witted and of poor physique, inferior to any of the other Balkan races with which I am acquainted, and under the present government it can never by any possibility become any better'. She offered a remedy: 'A Christian ruler under the supervision of the Powers and not the Sultan is the only cure for existing evils, and even then progress will be effected but slowly'.[151]

Her inclination to the exotic was already noticeable in her first book about the Serbs. Being unmarried, she was ready to play with various marriage proposals from the natives. On one occasion, she was proposed to by some Montenegrins, whom she refused and later commented: 'I have often wondered what the crowd would do if I accepted someone temporarily, but have never dared try. Five offers in twenty minutes is about my highest record'.[152] This inclination to the exotic led her to visit Albania, which at that time, due to constant unrest, was certainly not a very safe area for the female traveller. By that time, she had shifted her sympathies, and became great advocate of the Albanian cause. With Aubrey Herbert she founded an Anglo-Albanian association. She was said to have 'restored Albania to the memory of Europe'. Her book *High Albania*, published in 1909, is a monument of her new dedication to the Albanians. She was remembered in her beloved country as 'the queen of mountaineers', and streets named after her remained through all changes of regime.[153]

151 *Ibid*, p. 81.

152 Mary E. Durham, *Through the Lands of the Serb*, p. 11.

153 Harry Hodgkinson, s. v. 'Durham, (Marry) Edith', *The Dictionary of National Biography. Missing Persons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

It is, however, interesting that she followed Vivian's pattern and after she shifted her sympathies from the Serbs, she also felt obliged to comment Serbian responsibility for the First World War. Thus, she found the Austrian Ultimatum to Serbia of 23 July, 1914 justified, even in the part that requested that Austrian officials should participate in the search for killers of the Archduke in Serbia proper: 'To those of us who were used to Serb methods and intrigues this demand seemed the one most necessary paragraph of the note, which was in every point justified by the circumstances'.[154] She endeavoured to describe the relation between 'the Great Serbian idea' and 'the Serajevo crime'. She put the question: 'Which of our statesmen who were responsible for resuming diplomatic relations with Serbia in 1906 realised what our support of the Great Serbian idea must entail ?'[155] She was very frustrated that England did not take a harsher stance to Serbia in 1914: 'We cannot but feel that in June, 1914, had England, France and Russia firmly insisted upon the Serb Government at once investigating the Serajevo crime and bringing those responsible to justice, the better class of Serbs would have been glad to rid the land of these pests'.[156] Yet, this wish of hers contradicts her assessment of the role of Russia and France. In her interpretation Russia 'very clearly told Serbia in 1909 that she had but to wait till Russia was ready and then provoke Austria to retaliation. The European war from which Russia hoped much would then blaze up. "You press the button. We do the rest"'.[157] On the other hand, she quoted an English author, C. H. Norman, who tried to prove that there was a connection between French masons, the Russian secret service

154 M. Edith Durham, *The Serajevo Crime* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1925), pp. 12–13.

155 *Ibid*, p. 20.

156 *Ibid*, p. 74.

157 *Ibid*, p. 42.

Okhrana, and the Serbian conspirators, although she expressed some doubts.[158] Her final conclusion was that as a result of the trial of the murderers of the Archduke 'the connection of the criminals with Belgrade was completely established'.[159] Durham's and Vivian's allegations were never positively confirmed. A. J. P. Taylor shortly commented on the idea about the complicity of the Serbian Government in the Sarajevo crime: 'The Austrians took their time. Always dilatory, they sought, in a leisurely way, some proof that the Serb Government had been involved at the plot in Sarajevo. They found no proof; none was ever found'.[160]

Chedomille Miyatovich

Miyatovich (1842–1932) was a prominent Serbian economist, historian, diplomatist and writer. He was also a very diligent translator from English into Serbian.[161] During his studies in Germany he met his would-be British wife Elodie Lawton (1835–1908), previously a dedicated abolitionist in Boston, who influenced him significantly, and turned him into a devoted Anglophile. Miyatovich's career was meteoric. At the age of thirty-one he was already Minister of Finance and, in 1881, as Foreign Minister of Serbia, he signed the Secret Convention with Austria-Hungary which virtually turned Serbia into a protectorate of the Habsburg Empire, but which also saved her from humiliation after a defeat in the Serbo-Bulgarian war in 1885. He was one

158 *Ibid*, pp. 86–88.

159 *Ibid*, p. 94.

160 A. J. P. Taylor, *The First World War. An Illustrated History* (Penguin Books, 1967), p. 16.

161 Among other works he translated Bunyan's *Pilgrim Progress* and Dr. Brown's *Commentaries to the Gospels*.

of the four leaders of the Progressive Party in Serbia, in the 1880s. The party consisted of European trained intellectuals who insisted on the modernisation of Serbia, but who did not consider that the Serbian people was ripe for democracy.[162] In 1883, following the proclamation of the Kingdom in Serbia, a Serbian Minister was appointed to the Court of St. James. The second Minister in London was Miyatovich, and he served thrice in that capacity (1884–1886; 1895–1900 and 1902–1903). After the May Coup, he lived in London until his death in 1932.

In London he published a book about the last Byzantine Emperor[163] and was later elected to be an honorary member of the Royal Historical Society, being the first Serb to attain such a distinction. Some time earlier he had become the second President of the Serbian Royal Academy, in 1888–89. He was also a contributor to the Tenth and Eleventh Editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.[164] His respect in England seemed to be high, sometimes even higher than in Serbia. In 1889, Bourchier travelled around Serbia accompanied by Miyatovich which made him remark that 'he is generally regarded by his fellow-countrymen as the most learned man in Servia'.[165] Vivian dedi-

162 See Душан Т. Батаковић (редактор), *Нова историја српског народа,* Београд – Лозана 2000 [Dushan T. Batakovich (ed.), *Nova Istorija Srpskog Naroda* (Belgrade, Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 2000), p. 179].

163 Chedomille Mijatovich, *Constantine the last Emperor of the Greeks; or the Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks (A. D. 1453). After the latest Historical Researches* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1892). The book was later translated into Russian and Spanish.

164 His article on Serbia, from the Eleventh Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* was later published in a book: Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, Prince Kropotkin, C. Mijatovich and J. D. Bourchier, *A Short History of Russia and the Balkan States* (London: The Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1914).

165 J. D. Bourchier, 'The Great Servian Festival', p. 219.

cated his book *Servia, the Poor Man's Paradise* to him, and W. T. Stead, who met him during the Peace Conference in The Hague, was so delighted with him that he wrote: 'It was almost worth while creating the Kingdom of Servia if only in order to qualify Chedomille Miyatovitch for a seat in the Parliament of the Nations'.[166] Being himself a devoted spiritualist, Miyatovich cherished his friendship with W. T. Stead and his son Alfred. Although Miyatovich was a Serb, he was very important in creating an image of Serbia among Britons. He seems to have spoken better English than Serbian. To a distinguished Serbian historian, Slobodan Yovanovich, he looked more like a German or an Englishman than a Serb. Being a rare English speaker in Belgrade, he was a favourite collocutor to British diplomats in Belgrade who often mistakenly accepted his views as representing those of the Serbian government.[167] Being one of the few Serbs in London, he was the unavoidable source of information for both British journalists and officials of the Foreign Office.

A personal friend of King Milan Obrenovich and adherent to the dynasty of Obrenovich, he was shocked upon receiving the news of the murder of Milan's son Alexander. Both Miyatovich and his Nonconformist wife Elodie[168] were very religious, and the May Coup shook them deeply. Moreover, he had to face the inimical reaction of the British public opinion. On 17 June, six days after the murder, he reported to the new Foreign Minister that the public opinion in Britain: 'was still very outraged by various stories on horrible details of the murder. I have received

166 W. T. Stead, 'Members of the Parliament of Peace', *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 19 (1899), p. 533.

167 See Phyllis Auty, 'Slobodan Jovanović as a Historian', *The Slavonic and Eastern European Review*, vol. 38 (1959–60), p. 326.

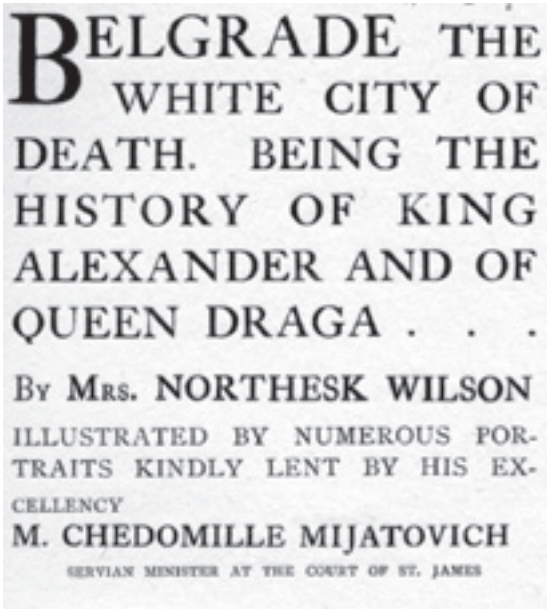
168 She was a member of the Wesleyan Church.

ILLUSTRATION 16
W. T. Stead's cabinet from which he daily communicated with the departed spirit of Julia Ames

ILLUSTRATIONS 17, 18 and 19
Bulgarian post stamps issued post-humously in honour of J. D. Bourchier, representing him and his burial place – Bulgarian Rila monastery

ILLUSTRATION 20

The autograph signature of King Alexander which was handed to Mrs. Burchell, enclosed in an envelope



BELGRADE THE WHITE CITY OF DEATH. BEING THE HISTORY OF KING ALEXANDER AND OF QUEEN DRAGA . . .

BY MRS. NORTHESK WILSON

ILLUSTRATED BY NUMEROUS PORTRAITS KINDLY LENT BY HIS EXCELLENCY

M. CHEDOMILLE MIJATOVICH

SERVIAN MINISTER AT THE COURT OF ST. JAMES

ILLUSTRATION 21

The first page of Mrs. Nothesk Wilson's book

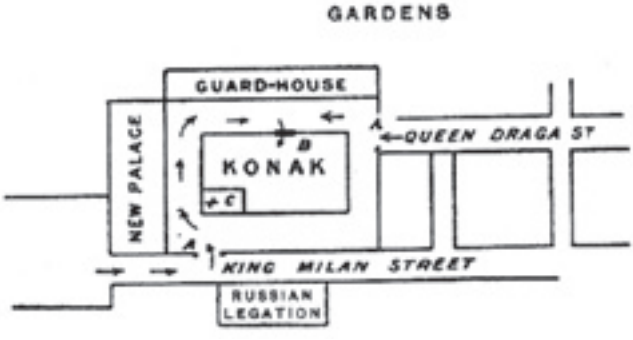


ILLUSTRATION 22

H. Vivian's map of the murder

A A. Entrances to the palace grounds.
B. Door of the palace. C. Scene of the murders
The arrows show the route of the murderers

anonymous letters in which people express disgust'.[169] Two days later he submitted his official resignation. He was the only Serbian diplomat who did so. This fact was hardly ever forgiven him, and consequently he was sentenced to *damnatio memoriae* in Serbia.

His unofficial diplomatic efforts were discussed in the previous chapter. Here I shall say something about his articles and books. His first interviews were very much preoccupied with the clairvoyant session organised by W. T. Stead. He also wrote several letters for *The Times*.[170] However, his main influence on British public opinion arose through several books. Only a few weeks after the murder a book appeared dealing with the Belgrade regicide, entitled *Belgrade the White City of Death. Being the History of King Alexander and of Queen Draga*. The book was written by Mrs. F. Northesk Wilson.[171] The book is signed in a peculiar way so that Miyatovich is mentioned almost as co-author. This was not only a sign of courtesy. The same ideas and whole identical sentences are to be found in other works of Miyatovich. Therefore it seems that his and his wife's role in writing this book was significant if not overwhelming.[172] Russia was portrayed as a Power supporting

169 Andriya Radenich (ed.), *Dokumenti o Spolynoy Polititsi Kralyevine Srbiye, 1903–1914*, vol. I/1, p. 105.

170 *The* Times, January 18, 1904, p. 2 f ('Greeks, Bulgarians, Servians'); The *Times,* February 13, 1906, p. 7 c ('Servia and Great Britain').

171 Actually, her real name (or maiden name?) was Flora Ames as the Catalogue of the Library of Congress reveals.

172 Mrs. Wilson acknowledges this in a dedication: 'The Authoress begs to tender her grateful thanks to His Excellency M. Chedomille Mijatovich, Servian Minister at the Court of St. James, also Madame Elodie Mijatovich, for their kind help to her in the compilation of this volume'. Mrs. F. Northesk Wilson, *Belgrade the White City of Death*, p. 5. Miyatovich used to write articles in the British Press even earlier under pseudonyms. See, for instance: *The Pall Mall Gazette*, February 25, 1885.

Draga to marry the young King in order 'to wipe out the Obrenovitch for ever'.[173] The book warns: 'the horrors committed at the revolution of June 10th have added one more danger to Servian life – the perpetual fear of the soldiery who can make and unmake a King'. Still it was admitted: 'But, on the other hand, the sad death of Alexander and Draga, lamentable in itself, has at least removed the terrible inheritance of dynastic rivalry'.[174] Finally the book reproduced the whole text from *The Review of Reviews* on 'A Clairvoyant Vision of the Assassination at Belgrade'.[175] The book is important for creating a new metaphor. If the metaphor of Serbia, before 1903, was Vivian's designation *Poor Man's Paradise*, then the metaphor of her capital was, after 1903, White City of Death.[176] This is how Harry De Windt summarised his impression of the Balkan capitals that he visited in 1905:

> *Our journey occupied three months, during which we visited Belgrade, aptly named 'White City of Death', since the brutal assassination of its martyred King and Queen; Sofia – that seething little cauldron of international intrigue – and Bukarest, the city of pleasure, which is not unlike Paris seen through the wrong end of a telescope.*[177]

Apart from Miyatovich's unofficial diplomatic efforts that have already been treated, he was involved in a peculiar action

173 *Ibid*, p. 81.

174 *Ibid*, p. 100.

175 *Ibid*, pp. 140–163; It seems that Mrs. Wilson took part in the session. Stead's list of the persons who witnessed the session includes such a name. *Ibid*, p. 151.

176 Belgrade, i.e. Beograd, means white city in Serbo-Croatian.

177 Harry De Windt, *My Restless Life* (London: Grant Richards, 1909), p. 357.

which he described in his *Memoirs*. In June 1905, three Serbians came to visit Miyatovich 'on a special mission', sent by 'a Committee of patriots', dissatisfied with the rule of King Peter. The Committee decided that Prince Arthur of Connaught, the third son of Queen Victoria, was to be elected King of Serbia. They asked Miyatovich to introduce them to the Prince. Miyatovich replied that he would make himself ridiculous in the eyes both of King Edward and Prince Arthur if he approached them on that matter. Disappointed Committee members 'left London with the sole consolation that they carried away all the photographs of Prince Arthur they could buy'.[178] Early in the autumn of 1905 the photographs were distributed throughout Serbia and many in Serbia believed that Miyatovich stood behind it, which he denied in his Memoirs.[179] Vivian, as I have already mentioned, was behind (p. 142) the distribution of photographs. This does not mean that Miyatovich did not expect that a dynastic change would take place.

In his book, published on the occasion of the triennium of the regicide (June 1906), which in Christian Orthodox traditions is the last major commemoration for a deceased person, he compared 'a royal tragedy' of Belgrade with Shakespeare's Macbeth. The main reason for this was the prophecy of a certain Mata of Kremna, made in 1868, which seemed to predict King Milan's abdication and the subsequent murder of his son. According to Miyatovich's narrative, the prophecy further claimed that after the Obrenovich dynasty and King had perished: 'he will be replaced on the Throne by Peter Karageorgevich, who

178 Count Chedomille Mijatovich, *The Memoirs of a Balkan Diplomatist*, p. 138; Vucinich thinks that Miyatovich really passed the offer to Prince Arthur. See W. Vucinich, *Serbia Between East and West*, p. 102.

179 Count Chedomille Mijatovich, *The Memoirs of a Balkan Diplomatist*, pp. 137–139.

will reign about three years and then also disappear. A foreign army will enter the country, and the people will suffer very much. At last a man will arise... and inaugurate a happy era of national history'.[180] Obviously, Miyatovich expected that an overthrow of a Serbian ruler would happen simultaneously with the publication of his book. He probably hoped to create the same sensation as on the occasion when Stead and he himself had announced the accounts from the clairvoyant session of March 1903, but the foreseen change did not occur.

One cannot positively say if this expected change of the ruler was connected with the plans to bring Prince Arthur to the throne of Serbia. Anyway, Miyatovich's book on the Belgrade Regicide could only have worsened the image of Serbia. He not only gave more details on Russian complicity, but he also expressed his disgust at the regicides: 'I cannot describe the horrible, disgusting, and ferocious conduct of some of those murderers. They seemed to emulate the exploits of Jack-the-Ripper on the dead body of the woman who was their Queen. As I write these lines, I feel utter shame and humiliation that Servian officers could have conducted themselves with such brutal cruelty'. The publication of an article by a sister of Queen Draga, Christina Petrovich, in *The Fortnightly Review*, was certainly done through Miyatovich's mediation, for he hosted Christina's son in London, and he was himself an associate of *The Fortnightly Review*.[181] The Article was an effort to exonerate the late

180 Chedomille Mijatovich, *A Royal Tragedy. Being the Story of the Assassination of King Alexander and Queen Draga* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1906), p. 5; The book was reprinted in New York, in 1907.

181 Miyatovich wrote several articles for *The Fortnightly Review*: 'Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid. A Character Skatch', vol. 80 (1906), pp. 575–584; 'Pan-Germanism', vol. 81 (1907), pp. 590–599; 'The Balkan Problems. The Macedonian Question: Suggestions for its Solution', vol. 82 (1907), pp. 431–442; 'Lord Salisbury – The Peacemaker. A Sketch', vol. 82 (1907), pp. 967–975.

Queen Draga, which indirectly shows that propaganda of the new Serbian establishment had already achieved some success by the end of 1906, so that now Draga's sister had to write an article to save her memory.[182]

Obviously, there was some discrepancy between Miyatovich's unofficial efforts and his published works. He intimately believed that the conspirators should not only resign but be punished as well. This is why he joined the Society for the Legal Settlement of the Regicides Question, which advocated punishment of the regicides.[183] However, being an experienced diplomat, he noticed that this was too much to expect from any Serbian Government. Therefore he reserved his disgust for his books, and directed his diplomatic efforts towards a pragmatic solution.

If the Viennese press intensified its campaign after the retirement of Serbian conspirators, the British press was not so susceptible to Viennese influences any longer. The stories about Prince Arthur as a possible new King of Serbia soon reached the Press: first in Vienna and then in London. H. Wickham-Steed reported, at the beginning of 1907, that Viennese journals, 'have for some time past been carrying on a violent campaign against Servia and the Karageorgevitch family'. Some of the stories centred round M. Mijatovitch, who, 'it is stated, will shortly be tried and condemned for high treason on account of efforts to place a member of the British Royal Family on the Throne of Servia'. However, Wickham-Steed rejected such rumours pointing out: 'It is, moreover, highly desirable that the wild talk about the "selection" of an English Prince for a Throne not vacant

182 Christina Petrovitch Lunyevitza, 'The Truth Concerning the Life of Queen Draga, Written by Her Sister', *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 80 (December 1906).

183 See Miyatovich's letter in *The Times*, February 13, 1906, p. 7 c; See a short article about the Society in *The Times* of June 4, 1906, p. 4 b.

should be made to cease. Whatever cliques or coteries inside or outside Servia may imagine themselves to have an interest in propagating pernicious nonsense of this kind would do well to remember that British Princes are not in the habit of being candidates for shaky Thrones from which a predecessor may have been summarily or even bloodily removed'.[184]

It is interesting to mention that Miyatovich and W. T. Stead, although both devoted attendants of clairvoyant sessions, failed to prophesise their own deaths. Stead perished spectacularly on the maiden voyage of the liner Titanic, in April 1912. Miyatovich, who believed he would be the victim of a political assassination,[185] died in a London nursing home, in May 1932, quite forgotten in his native country.[186]

Harry De Windt

> *'Why ''savage'' Europe?' asked a friend who recently witnessed my departure from Charing Cross for the Near East.*
>
> *'Because', I replied, 'the term accurately describes the wild and lawless countries between the Adriatic and Black Seas'.*[187]

If living dangerously and dying young, as James (Jan) Morris entitled one of her chapters,[188] was one of the many

184 *The Times*, January 4, 1907, p. 3 b, c ('The Situation in Servia').

185 Count Chedomille Mijatovich, *Memoirs*, p. 14.

186 See *The Times*, May 16, 1932, p. 12 d (Obituary 'Count Miyatovich').

187 Harry De Windt, *Through Savage Europe* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1907), p. 15.

188 James Morris, *Pax Britannica. The Climax of an Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 1979), p. 14.

tempting offers that the British Empire at its climax was able to offer, then De Windt was certainly charmed by this possibility. 'For a century living dangerously, or alone, had been a way of life for a minority of British people, to a degree that no other European nation could match, and this experience was by no means ended'.[189] Harry De Windt (1856–1933) undoubtedly belonged to this minority. He called himself an explorer, an occupation slightly outdated at the end of the nineteenth century. He travelled from Peking to France by land in 1887; rode to India from Russia (via Persia) in 1889; attempted to travel from New York to Paris by land for *The Pall Mall Gazette*; nearly perished on the Bering Straits, being rescued by a whaler; travelled from Paris to New York by land in 1901–1903; and finally travelled through the Balkan States, from Montenegro into Russia, for *The Westminster Gazette*, in 1905.[190]

Numerous editions of his book *Through Savage Europe*, his dispatches for *The Westminster Gazette*, and his fame of a notorious traveller, all contributed to the fact that his book substantially influenced the British public opinion concerning the Balkans. Travelling through the Balkans he visited Cettigne 'the smallest capital in Europe', where he witnessed a vendetta. What he experienced there made him note: 'life is valued almost as cheaply here as in Chine and Japan'.[191] Yet he was charmed by Montenegrin admiration for Gladstone whose death 'was still mourned throughout Montenegro'.[192] The next region he visited was Dalmatia. He associated the region with 'visions of brigands, primitive travel and squalid life',[193] although he was quite

189 *Ibid*, p. 307.

190 *Who Was Who 1929–1940,* p. 362.

191 Harry De Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, p. 45.

192 *Ibid*, p. 49 (Gladstone died seven years prior to De Windt's visit, in 1898).

193 *Ibid*, p. 69.

delighted with Ragusa. Through Herzegovina he came to Bosnia where he witnessed 'the prosperous condition of this country'.[194] Finally, De Windt came to Belgrade by train. This made him revoke his impressions of his first visit during the Russo-Turkish War of 1876. He evoked Belgrade from the seventies when 'everything was primitive, dirty, and comfortless', and favourably compared this with its contemporary conditions. Now he was pleasantly surprised 'to enter a palatial railway station instead of being dumped down on a mud-bank from the deck of a grimy steamer'.[195] Everything was now 'up to date in this city of murder and mystery'.[196] The adjective 'scarlet' seemed to him more suitable than 'white' for 'a city which has witnessed such infamous deeds, committed under the name of "patriotism"'.[197] He was surprised by 'a great similarity between the Servian and the French people, which is one of the most curious characteristics of this little-known nation', although his association with the 'upper ten of Belgrade', reminded him of the 'Western States of America, where a man is welcomed less of wealth and social status than for an agreeable personality'.[198] And the Serbs generally left a good impression on him: 'Servians of all classes are the politest people in the world'.[199] He dedicated a special chapter to 'some recent rulers of Serbia', and unavoidably another chapter to 'Alexander and Draga'. In describing Alexander he followed Vivian whom he quoted. The chapter entitled 'Murderers in Uniform' was his effort to give 'probably the first

194 *Ibid*, p. 104.

195 *Ibid*, pp. 110–111.

196 *Ibid*, p. 113.

197 *Ibid*, p. 114; Belgrade means 'white city' in Serbian.

198 *Ibid*, pp. 115, 121.

199 *Ibid*, p. 115.

absolutely authentic account of the assassination of the late King and Queen of Servia which has ever been published in England'.[200] Despite this claim there was nothing new in his dispatches and he mostly follows Vivian and Bourchier in his descriptions, although he personally talked to some of the regicides. However, by repeating somewhat exaggerated horrors of the May Coup from Vivian's books and Bourchier's dispatches and giving a negative characterisation of King Peter, he could only have strengthened the negative image of Serbia. His description of the Serbian provinces consolidated this negative image. 'Unless the visitor is prepared to "rough it", Servia is a good place to avoid',[201] De Windt advised. Still, he 'had his full share of tough travel' around Serbia and the provincial part did not impress him much. He was in Nish, a city consisting of 'mostly (to paraphrase Carlyle) thieves'.[202] He even met a priest, an excellent *raconteur*, who 'would have made a name in any European capital', but not in Serbia. The priest is supposed to have said to De Windt: 'Pigs make a poor audience, and my parishioners are little better, intellectually speaking, and not half as useful, as the swine they breed!'[203]

Animalisation of the other was, as one could see, not so rare in the British perception of the Macedonian Slavs and Albanians. Both Miss. Stone and Edith Durham did not hesitate to make such references. De Windt's characterisation is, however, a rare case of an implicit British animalisation of the image of the Serbs, and in a way represents a peak in the negative characterisation of the Serbs between 1903 and 1906.

200 *Ibid*, p. 145.
201 *Ibid*, p. 184.
202 *Ibid*, p. 189.
203 *Ibid*, p. 187.

British Opinion Makers a Century Later

Maria Todorova points out 'that the pattern of all Westerners dealing with the Balkans' was to find their 'pet nation'.[204] Perhaps it is interesting to mention what was the fate of the British opinion makers among their pet Balkanites. *James David Bourchier* died in Sofia in 1920, after his efforts to recreate ethnic Bulgaria failed in Versailles. He was buried with great pomp in Rila monastery. The Bulgarian State immortalised him by the publication of a series of post stamps with his portrait. Even a brand of local cigarettes was named after him.[205] His efforts, in the capacity of the Balkan correspondent, are acknowledged in *The History of The Times*. A boulevard in Sofia named after him, again bears his name. The Bulgarian Encyclopaedia has a rather short article on him, designating Bourchier: 'A friend of the Bulgarian people and a protector of its national aspirations.'[206] Yet, Anglo-Saxon correspondents have forgotten their forefather. A well-known American correspondent from the Balkans, Robert D. Kaplan who visited Rila monastery in 1981 provoked surprise from a local guide when he admitted that he had never heard of Bourchier.[207] Moreover, M. Todorova did not mention him in her book *Imagining tha Balkans*, although he significantly influenced the British notion of the Balkans at the turn of the century. The Macedonians, in whose favour he wrote for so long, will certainly not celebrate him due to his insistence on the Bulgarian

204 Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, p. 120.

205 Robert D. Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts. A Journey Through History* (St Martin's Press: New York, 1993), p. 194.

206 Енциклопедия България, s. v. 'Баучър, Джеймз Дейвид', Българската академия на науките, София 1978 [Enciklopediya Bulgariya, s. v. 'Bauchur, Dzheimz Deivid' (Sofia: Bulgarskata akademiya na naukite, 1978), vol. 1, p. 226].

207 *Ibid*, p. 229.

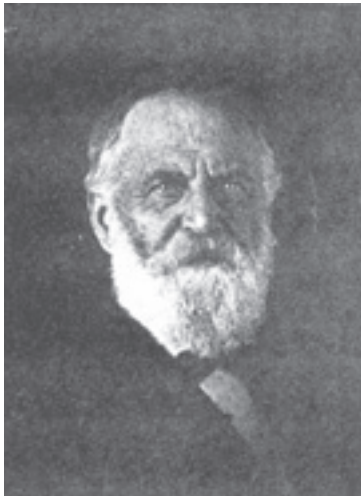


ILLUSTRATION 23
William Thomas Stead

ILLUSTRATION 24
Marry Edith Durham
In Balkan costume

ILLUSTRATION 25
Chedomille Miyatovich

His Excellency
M. Chedomille Mijatovich
Servian Minister
at the Court of St. James

ILLUSTRATION 26
Harry De Windt

character of the Macedonian Slavs. *Herbert Vivian* has been completely forgotten in Serbia. His *Servia, the Poor Man's Paradise*, the first British eulogy of Serbia has never been translated into Serbian. The Serbs have never forgiven him his attachment to Alexander Obrenovich, and even less his condemnation of the rule of King Peter. But now the Montenegrins might remember their failed candidate for consulship, and a chivalrous protector of their independence when no one cared about it in Europe, although his praise for the Montenegrin version of pan-Serbian national unification may well produce an opposite effect among Montenegrin nationalists. *Edith Durham* had more luck in Albania. Although she also failed in her efforts to support ethnic Albania after the Balkan Wars, she was celebrated even by the new communist regime. Enver Hoxha himself made an honourable exception regarding Durham 'in a book whose title tells all – *The Anglo-American Threat to Albania*'.[208] *Alfred Stead* is completely forgotten in Serbia, and moreover, he is sometimes confused with the more famous Wickham Steed due to an improper Cyrillic transliteration of his surname. Some writers have recently tried to exonerate *Chedomille Miyatovich* in Serbia.[209] However, it is peculiar that no one reacted in Belgrade, when street signs, in a small lane bearing his name, were recently replaced by football fans who wanted to celebrate their football hero of the same family name.[210]

208 John Hodgson, 'Edith Durham. Traveller and Publicist', in John B. Allcock and Antonia Young, *Black Lambs and Grey Falcons* (Bradford: Bradford University Press, 1991), p. 9.

209 See Simha Kabiljo-Šutić, *Posrednici dveju kultura. Studije o srpsko-engleskim književnim i kulturnim vezama* (Beograd: Institut za književnost i umetnost, 1989).

210 The football player of the same surname is Predrag (Pedya) Miyatovich from Real Madrid.

CHAPTER FIVE

SERBIA, THE BRITISH VALUE SYSTEM AND RE-ORIENTALISATION

The Balkans and Britain at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

An article from the Tenth Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* gave a survey of Serbia at the beginning of the twentieth century, written by a former Serbian Minister at the Court of St. James.[1] According to the article Serbia had, in 1900, 2,493,770 inhabitants. Out of them 81,6% belonged to rural population. In 1895 there were 229,002 'foreigners or inhabitants belonging to other nationalities'. Most of them were, as Miyatovich called them, Rumanians or Wallachians (160,187). There were only 16 Englishmen at that time in Serbia. By religion, in 1895, the overwhelming majority belonged to the Orthodox Church (2,281,018). There were also 14,414 Muslims, 10,410 Roman Catholics, 5,102 Jews and 1,002 Protestants.

1 Chedomille Mijatovich, s. v. 'Servia', *The New Volumes of the Encyclopaedia Britannica*, The Tenth Edition, vol. 32 (London, 1902), pp. 518–522.

Miyatovich designated Serbia as 'essentially an agricultural and cattle producing country' with nearly 90 per cent of the whole population occupied in the agricultural sector. However, there was an 'almost utter lack' of large farms with the majority of holdings not exceeding, on average, 20 acres. In 1900, imports were mostly from Austria-Hungary (59%), Great Britain (12,25%) and Germany. Mainly cotton yarn and textile were imported from Britain but this trade did not exceed £ 110,000 per annum. Exports were predominantly directed to Austria-Hungary (*c*. 85%). There was no direct export from Serbia to Great Britain, but it was 'generally believed' that some of the Serbian wheat and maize exported down the Danube, and prunes exported to Germany, found their way to England.[2]

In commenting on Bulgarian exports, J. D. Bourchier concluded in 1910, that the prosperity of Bulgaria practically depended on the variations of the harvests. Both Bulgarian exports and imports from the United Kingdom were greater than Serbian trade. In 1900 exports to the United Kingdom were valued at £239,665 and in 1904 at £ 989,127. The principal imports from Britain were textiles, metal goods, colonial goods, implements, leather and petroleum, amounting £ 301,150, in 1900, and £ 793,972, in 1904.[3]

There was a very clear differentiation among the Balkan countries at the beginning of the twentieth century in terms of their economic development. For instance, in the year of 1905,

2 Mijatovich, *op. cit.*, p. 520.

3 Wallace, Sir Donald Mackenzie, *et al*., *A Short History of Russia and the Balkan States*, p. 98. This book was issued as a separate volume out of the articles in the Eleventh Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, published in 1910–1911.

Romania had £ 2.67 per capita exports, Bulgaria had £ 1.68 (in 1904), Greece £ 1.26, Serbia £1.15 and according to the official Montenegrin sources Montenegro had only £ 0.26 in per capita exports.[4] The overall quantity of both imports and exports in all the Balkan countries together was insignificant compared to the imports and exports of the British Empire. If one takes into consideration the fact that more than half of both exports and imports of the Balkan Christian countries belonged to Romania alone, which being geographically isolated from the Ottoman Empire could not have had a very active role in the Balkans, then the relative backwardness of the rest of the liberated Christian Balkans appears even more pronounced.

A recent study by Michael Palairet reveals some characteristic patterns in the development of the economies of the Balkan Christian countries as well as many local characteristics. In terms of urbanisation, the lands under direct Ottoman control were significantly more urbanised than the lands not controlled by Constantinople. For instance, the Bosnian urban population came to 17.7% in 1864, while the urban population of northern Bulgaria was also between 15 and 18%. On the other hand the urban population of Serbia in 1834 was only 4%, and in Montenegro there was none. The relative prosperity of Serbian peasants until the 1830s started to deteriorate from that time. There was substantial decline in livestock numbers between 1834 and 1867, which 'struck at the very basis of Serbia's well-being'.[5]

4 Pounds in this comparison, as well as in the chart below, have not been adjusted to their present value but are taken from contemporary sources. These data are given for comparative purposes only. For the data on Montenegro see p. 169, footnote, e.

5 Michael Palairet, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800–1914* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 359.

The same period was filled with intense deforestation and an export volume maintained by the lowering of subsistence consumption. Later periods were also characterised by similar trends. Per capita income in Serbia was subject to long-term decline, falling by 15–20 per cent from 1863 to 1910, by Palairet's calculations. Bulgaria had similar trends as soon as it got autonomy in 1878, the feature that Palairet calls 'serbianisation' of economy. Palairet summarises: 'both the Bulgarian and Serbian economies were in severe aggregate per capita decline from the mid-1870s to the Balkan Wars (1912/13) and in Serbia's case, quite probably since 1830s'.[6] Palairet gives the GDP per capita for Serbia and Bulgaria in 1910, as amounting to 226.03 current francs for Serbia and 307.23 francs for Bulgaria.[7] These data correspond to export rates in the chart below.

The unproductiveness of Serbian farming was attributed to patriarchal culture and idleness. This may be perceived as a stereotype nowadays. However, even Miyatovich characterised the Serbs similarly. He described Serbia in 1910 as a land 'with prevailing social equality' pointing out that in 1900 'there was neither pauper nor workhouse in the country'. This is how Miyatovich characterised the Serbian people in Serbia:

> *The people, less thrifty and industrious than the Bulgars, less martial than the Montenegrins, less versatile and intellectual than the Rumans, value comfort more highly than progress. A moderate amount of works enables them to live well-enough, and to pass their evenings at the village wine-shop...*[8]

6 *Ibid*, p. 323.

7 *Ibid*, p. 323.

8 Wallace *et al*., p. 166.

It is therefore not surprising that under such circumstances natives in Serbia did not really welcome foreign capital. Palairet described this resistance to foreign capital in both Serbia and Bulgaria as xenophobia. In my opinion it should rather be explained through egalitarianism. Namely, it is quite common to people accustomed to egalitarian principles to oppose anything that may change existing social simplicity. In this sense Serbian and Bulgarian grass-root level opposition to foreign investments was rather an expression of fear of wealthy foreigners, than hatred towards them, which the word xenophobia would necessarily imply. After all, the most popular person in Bulgaria was a foreign Prince, Alexander Battenberg, and in Serbia it was a foreign Princess and later Queen, Natalie Obrenovich.

For Britain, contrary to Serbia and Bulgaria, the nineteenth century was glorious not only in terms of expansionism, but also in economic terms. Lady Flora Lugard was able to proudly mention that the British Empire, in 1910, with its territory of some 12,000,000 sq. m. occupied nearly one quarter of the earth's surface. The Empire's population of some 400,000,000 inhabitants amounted to more than one-fourth of the population of the world.[9]

For the national economy of the United Kingdom, a very good indicator is the value of real wages. If one takes the year of 1850 as a starting point with an index figure of 100, then real wages increased to 105 in 1860, 125 in 1871, 132 in 1880, 166 in 1891, 184 in 1900, and 194 in 1906[10]. This means that in the

9 Lugard, Lady Flora, s. v. 'British Empire', *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the Eleventh Edition, vol. IV (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1910), pp. 606–615.

10 Chris Cook, *Britain in the Nineteenth Century* (London and New York: Longman, 1999), p. 207.

course of something more than fifty years real wages in the United Kingdom almost doubled. The national income per capita grew as well, from £ 18 in 1800 to £ 76 in 1901 and overall national income (at factor cost) grew from £ 636 m in 1855 to £ 1,776 m in 1905.[11]

The Balkan countries, however, were not capable of taking advantage of British development. British capital had many obstacles to enter Serbian and Bulgarian markets. Palairet is certainly right when postulating that there was not a lack of interest of foreign capital in entering Serbia and Bulgaria but it was rather the 'environment which deterred foreign participation'.[12] In Serbia, British capital faced grass-root level resistance, in Bulgaria, although economically more developed, even less British capital arrived than to Serbia.

The Serbian Minister in London, Chedomille Miyatovich, delivered an address before the members of the London Chamber of Commerce, in December 1895. On that occasion he said:

> *It is probably quite a natural, yet not less remarkable phenomenon, that the moment a nation in the Balkan Peninsula obtains full or even only half political independence, that nation becomes at once alive to its commercial and economic interests, and looks towards Western Europe, and more especially towards England, for help and co-operation in the laying down of foundations for its material progress and prosperity...*
>
> *I wish to state that we all in the Balkan Peninsula – Servians and Bulgarians, Roumanians and Greeks – feel that one of the conditions, as well as one of the guarantees*

11 *Ibid*, p. 191.

12 Palairet, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800–1914*, 331.

> *of our political future, is involved in the economic regeneration of our respective countries, and that no nation in the world will be a more acceptable co-worker with us in that arduous task than the British nation, and this, not only because of its great wealth and its experience, but because of its unselfish and generous sympathy with the political independence of all the Balkan nations.*[13]

These words certainly reflect the generally shared opinion of the members of pro-western enlightened Balkan Christian elites (no matter how small in number), committed to the modernisation of their countries. But they were often not capable of bringing about their intentions. Characteristically, Miyatovich's good wishes were not realised. Therefore he tried to open, in private capacity, a Serbian Trade Agency in 1902, in order to improve economic relations between Serbia and the United Kingdom. Although he got permission from the Serbian Government he failed to establish the Agency.[14] Obviously, there was no special interest in London for it. It is therefore not peculiar that the Serbian Government soon contemplated the closure of the Legation in London. Still, the Serbian Legation was kept and Miyatovich was again appointed to be the Serbian Minister in London in December, 1902. In a letter to the Serbian Foreign Minister, Miyatovich said:

> *The position that Great Britain has among the Great Powers, the phase in which the historical development of the Balkan politics comes, according to all its signs and*

13 *The Times*, December 3, 1895; The address was published as a special issue, entitled 'Some Suggestions for the Development of Trade Between Great Britain and Servia'.

14 AS, Legation in London, 1902, F I, Confidential No. 69, 73.

hints, would be sufficient per se to justify the decision of the Government of His Highness that the Legation of Serbia in London should be kept. I hope, and moreover I believe, that the day will come when the voice of Great Britain in favour of Serbian national interests, will substantially compensate Serbia for all her material sacrifices that she has so gladly endured, in order to be the represented with this great nation and its glorious and illustrious Court.[15]

This letter reveals that the Serbian Government had no clear vision of its interests in Britain, and therefore Miyatovich had to justify his position. It was probably only thanks to Miyatovich's influence that the Legation in London was kept. Obviously, for the poor economy of Serbia, the expense of the Legation in London was too high, although sometimes the Serbian Legation had only the Minister on staff. Very often a new government in Serbia would decide, during the late 1880s or 1890s, to suspend the Legation in London and to put the Serbian Minister in Paris in charge of Britain. For Serbian governments it seemed that there were no sufficient economic interests that could justify the existence of the Serbian Legation in London, and obviously some Serbian governments were not sure if there were political interests either.

In Britain, Bulgaria was in a much better position than Serbia in terms of the support she had from influential sections of the British public opinion. However, she was in a less favourable diplomatic position in London than Serbia since she was not diplomatically represented until St. Elijah Uprising, in 1903, and even then she was represented only by a Diplomatic Agency

15 AS, *loc. cit.*, No. 89.

and not by a legation since she was not fully independent until 1908. Naturally, Bourchier commented on this fact: 'M. Tzokoff, who has been appointed to the new Bulgarian Diplomatic Agency in London, left to-day. The serious error of leaving the Principality so long unrepresented in London is thus tardily repaired'.[16]

Britain, on the other hand, had no territories under its sovereignty in the Balkans. The only territories she ever had in the Balkans were the Ionian Islands and the island of Lissa. The island of Lissa in the Adriatic See became, after the Treaty of Pressburg 'one of the principal stations of the cruisers of England – a depot of manufacturers...' The French captured the island in October 1810, but in the spring of 1811 the British fleet defeated the Franco-Venetian fleet and the island remained British until the end of the Napoleonic Wars.[17] At the same time when she lost the Island of Lissa, Britain gained the Ionian Islands from France which she ceded to Greece, in 1864, as a gesture marking the accession of a new Greek King, George I (the former Prince William George of Glücksburg).

The economic interests of the British Empire in an underdeveloped area, such as the Balkans of that time, were obviously not very great. This, of course, does not mean that some British opinion makers like A. Stead did not try to take advantage of economic rhetoric. The beginning of the nineteenth century was, in Britain, a period of fervent polemics between advocates of free trade, and advocates of economic protectionism. Therefore

16 *The Times*, September 28, 1903, p. 3 b ('Bulgaria and Great Britain').

17 See A. A. Paton, *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic including Dalmatia, Croatia, and the Southern Provinces of the Austrian Empire* (London, 1849), pp. 38–42.

economic rhetoric was a regular tool in influencing the British public opinion.

In the months, and even years, preceding the May Coup, Serbia did not seem to either British journalists or officials as crucial or potentially very destabilising to a solution of the Eastern Question. The British public was more focused on Bulgaria and the Macedonian Question. Moreover, in the course of the nineteenth century, many British travellers wrote positively of Serbia, even when the Foreign Office had a different opinion. Therefore the question arises as to what caused such a tremendous change in the perception of British travellers and journalists regarding Serbia after the May Coup. Since there were no territorial aspirations of Britain in the Balkans, no substantial economic interests in Serbia, and the situation had not changed geo-strategically after the accession of King Peter, there must have been some structure existing simultaneously and, to a certain extent, independently of political interests. This, in my opinion, was a moral structure consisting of values.

Just a few days after the May Coup, the Russian Minister in Belgrade, Charykov, commented on the British attitude, and American diplomatic envoy Jackson noted his remarks. In Charykov's opinion since England was not directly interested in the Balkans and in the preservation of peace in this part of the world, she was in a position to be led by 'pure moral reasons'.[18]

18 Bogdan Popović, 'Majski prevrat i SAD', p. 86.

COUNTRY		POPULATION	TERRITORY IN MILES	YEAR	IMPORTS	EXPORTS
BULGARIA		3,744,283[a] (in 1901)	37,240[b]	1904	£ 5,187,583	£ 6,304,756
GREECE		2,631,952 (in 1907)	24,400[c]	1905	£ 5,611,177	£ 3,321,775[d]
MONTENEGRO		186,000[e] (in 1900)	3,255	1906	£ 239,505	£ 80,265
SERBIA		2,493,770 (in 1900)	18,782	1905	£2,224,000	£2,879,000
ROMANIA		5,912,520 (in 1899)	50,720	1905	£ 13,510,000	£ 18,284,000[f]
ALL BALKAN CHRISTIAN COUNTRIES		14,968,525 (in 1900)	134,397	1905	£ 26,772,265	£ 30,869,796
OTTOMAN EMPIRE		25,926,000[g]		1905–1906	£ 27,514,050	£ 17,256,470[h]
THE UNITED KINGDOM		41,458,721 (1901)	120,651			
BRITISH EMPIRE		Over 400,000,000	12,000,000	1901	£ 809,178,363	£ 657,899.363

a The figure is for the United Bulgaria.

b This was territory of the United Bulgaria. The territory of Northern Bulgaria covered 24,535 sq. m. and the territory of Eastern Rumelia covered 12,705 sq. m.

c James D. Bourchier mentions that there are various data on the size of the Kingdom of Greece prior to the rectification of the frontier in 1898 when Greece lost 152 sq. m. He accepts the size of 24,552, but mentions that some authorities gave 25,164 and 25,136 sq. m. [James D. Bourchier, *s. v.* 'Greece', *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, The Eleventh Edition, vol. 12 (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1910), p. 428]. According to Bourchier's estimation some 1,500 residents of Greece (mostly Maltese) possessed British nationality (*Ibid*, p. 428).

d Import and export figures for Greece were given in French Francs. For the year of 1905 imports were 141,756,053 FF and exports 83,691,166 FF. The rate of exchange at that time was 9,5 d. (pennies) for 1 FF. One pound had 240 pennies at that time.

e This is estimation calculated by M. Palairet, *The Balkan Economies*, p. 20. The official figure given by Montenegrin authorities, and quoted by Bourchier in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, for the year of 1900 was 311,564. This was rejected by foreign observers and by Serbian estimates. Montenegrin authorities falsified data in order to overestimate the exiguous population and to overrate the combat strength of the country (see Palairet, pp. 14–15).

f In the same edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, there is also a chart representing imports and exports of the British Possessions and foreign countries. The chart offers data for Romania, Greece and Turkey as follows Greece in 1900: 2,227,212 (imports), 1,104,196 (exports), in 1905: 1,328,234 (imports), 1,251,642 (exports); Romania in 1900: 1,396,639 (imports), 616,287 (exports), in 1905: 1,689,513 (imports), 1,305,658 (exports); Turkey in 1900: 5,657,627 (imports), 5,372,956 (exports), in 1905: 5,491,443 (imports), 6,979,147 (exports), the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 27, p. 602.

g In the provinces directly under the Ottoman Government. If provinces under the nominal Turkish Government are included, then the total population was: 36,323,539 (s. v. 'Turkey', vol. 27, p. 426)

h *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Sir Vincent Henry Penalver Caillard, s. v. 'Turkey', The Eleventh Edition, vol. 27, p. 430.

The British Value System

Victorian values... those were the values when our country became great, not only internationally but at home.
Margaret Thatcher[19]

If today many would not agree with M. Thatcher's characterisation of Victorian values as having made Britain great, if some are able to demonstrate that in the Victorian age British society had a 'bewildering diversity of beliefs and styles of life'[20] rather than one 'well-honed stereotype' called 'Victorian', still there are those who are able to describe Victorian mentality convincingly in several pages. Thatcher's characterisation reveals something more. It is the central position which debate on the values has had in British society since the Victorian age.

Victorian mentality was recently analysed by a British historian, Norman Davies. In an effort to identify key elements of late Victorian mentality he was able to identify the following five characteristics: loyalty to the Crown, patriotism, self-restraint, a sense of duty, and a God-fearing stance. First, *loyalty* was directed to the Crown, with its most clear expression in the words of the National Anthem (God save our gracious King, Long live our noble King, God save the King!). Second, *patriotism* gradually became 'the lowest common denominator of all other identities that had been submerged into the imperial mix'.[21] Third, *self-restraint* was 'a prime characteristic of the English culture' which seemed to the continentals, especially to the Latins

19 Nigel Rees, *Cassel Companion Quotations* (London: Cassel, 1997).

20 Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870–1914* (London: Penguin Books, 1994), p. 39.

21 Norman Davies, *The Isles, A History* (London: Macmillan, 1999), p. 815.

as quite strange. This characteristic resulted in the disciplined demeanour of the Britons. Fourth, *a sense of duty*, inspired by Christian virtues, and referring to family or society, but also to the nation, or the whole of humanity. This sense sometimes took a peculiar almost chauvinist form, as when John Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902), a high British imperial dignitary, said: 'we are the first race in the world, and the more of the world we inhabit, the better it is for a human race'.[22] There was, as James (Jan) Morris put it, 'a conviction, common among imperialists of diverse kinds, that a spiritual destiny had called the British to their pre-eminence-that they were a chosen people, divinely different, endowed with special gifts, but entrusted with special duties, too'.[23] Finally, *god-fearing behaviour* meant that the Britons believed in God, attended church regularly, and made links between their faith and patriotism. This was common to all Britons, regardless of whether they were Anglicans, Catholics or Nonconformists.[24] Of the five above characteristics, four were relevant in shaping British opinion on the May Coup. Only patriotism, as specifically directed to the British nation, was not directly related to the perception of the Belgrade regicide. In the following pages I shall analyse interaction between the four Victorian values, the May Coup and Serbian self-perception of the May Coup.

Loyalty to the Crown

If loyalty to the Crown was an important element of the British Victorian mentality, it was equally important in the

22 Quoted from *Ibid*, p. 792.

23 James Morris, *Pax Britannica. The Climax of an Empire*, p. 502.

24 See Norman Davies, *op. cit.*, pp. 812–820.

perception of other nations. The removal of a crowned head in some state was a challenge not only to that specific country but also to the existing monarchical order and therefore, all *coup d'états* aimed at overthrowing some king were the focus of special attention in Britain. The personality of a ruler was also important, for the British often viewed foreign subjects through their sovereign. If some people were disloyal to their crowned head, the image of those people would immediately sour. The visualisation of the Serbian throne, based on blood, quickly appeared in Britain following the May Coup. An image of King Peter's throne based on slaughter, as *Punch* portrayed it, was visualised in British public opinion. The caricature was drawn by Bernard Partridge whom his colleagues many years later described as 'one of last of the Victorians'.[25] Certainly such an image provoked much resentment against Serbia. Still, some opinion makers had some understanding for the new King. J. Bourchier expressed some sympathies, but they were always faced with the dilemma of whether the May Coup had been necessary: 'King Peter, who displays himself freely in the town and the environs without escort, wins golden opinions for his affability of demeanour. Every one is delighted with the new state of affairs, though a certain revulsion of feeling is already noticeable, and some are beginning to ask whether the present happy change might not have been brought about by means less atrocious'.[26]

However, it was expected that the new King would do something with those who dared to kill the anointed royal couple.

25 *Punch*, June 24, 1903 ('The King Maker'). Interestingly, Bernard Partridge (1861–1945, knighted in 1925) played the part of Sergius Sarnoff in the premiere of Bernard Shaw's Ruritanian play *Arms and the Man*. Later he became chief cartoonist of *Punch*. See: Griffiths (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press*, p. 457.

26 *The Times,* June 29, 1903, p. 7 f.

ILLUSTRATION 27

Konak (Royal palace) from which
the royal Serbian couple was defenestrated.
Konak was later demolished by the regecides

ILLUSTRATION 28

Royal bedchamber where King Alexander
and Queen Draga were killed

The Royal bedchamber
(Where the Servian King and Queen were murderd)

ILLUSTRATION 29

Representation of Serbia in the form of death and the Serbian throne based on blood

THE KING-MAKER

[On June 11, King ALEXANDER of Servia and Queen DRAGA were brutally assassinated by the military leaders of a conspiracy that has placed PETER KARAGEORGEVITCH on the Throne.]

After all, it was King Peter who, in his first interview given in Geneva after the May Coup, said: 'As for my opinion upon the execution, it is this. I deeply regret that it has been thought necessary to shed blood in streams. I formally disapprove of violent measures. I especially deplore the fact that the army has had recourse to such measures – an army which has nobler tasks to accomplish than assassination'.[27] This original promise to punish the regicides and the refusal to fulfil it later, made De Windt notice: 'upon his accession he proclaimed that the punishment of the regicides should be his first consideration, and yet on reaching Belgrade he was hypnotised into a subjection as abject as that shown by his subjects'.[28] As soon as his hesitation to punish the regicides became obvious his image deteriorated. In September 1903 a special correspondent of *The Times* in Belgrade commented on the relation between the King and the regicides: 'The King himself is surrounded and ruled, and many are now losing hope that he will ever be able to shake himself free...'[29] At the end of 1903, Bourchier summarised King Peter's position: 'Had King Peter, immediately after his arrival at Belgrade, summoned courage to remove the guilty officers from every position of power and influence, such an act of decision would in all probability have consolidated his own position and that of his dynasty... He chose, however, the easier course, with the result that he is now practically a captive in the hands of the bloodstained *camarilla*. The conspirators have taken every conceivable step to secure their position, to remove the King from all outside influences, and to render him their docile instrument... He seems sensitive to the humiliations to which he is subjected,

27 *The Times*, June 13, 1903, p. 7 b.

28 Harry De Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, p. 163.

29 *The Times*, September 22, 1903, p. 3 b.

but it is now to late to retrace his steps, and all he can do is to temporize with his gaolers'.[30] In their criticism many even went so far as to describe his private life, up to the time of the accession. As De Windt stated 'His favourite amusement was gambling, his literature the *Gil Blas* and yellow-backed novels; in short, the man differed in no respect from any other lazy, pleasure-loving "Boulevardier"'.[31]

Equally damaging were dispatches sent to the Foreign Office by British diplomats. With a dossier of the Foreign Office implicating King Peter in the murder of Prince Michael Obrenovich, in 1868, one dispatch from Kennedy must have made a bad impression even worse. British Minister at Cettigne, Kennedy, claimed that King Peter, at the time of his coronation, said to his brother-in-law Prince Danilo '... that he was fully aware, beforehand, of all the details of the plot, and knew the day, and almost the hour, when it would be put into execution'.[32] Thesiger at least admitted that the King behaved constitutionally. However, in time, Thesiger started to view the King's constitutional correctness as a pretext for avoiding the exercise of any influence over domestic affairs. He characterised Peter as being a person of '... intense obstinacy, combined with a want of moral energy, and personal courage united to a fear of responsibility...' He was even afraid that this attitude of King Peter's could prove as

30 *The Times*, December 23, 1903, p. 6 a ('The Situation in Servia').

31 Harry De Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, p. 160.

32 Kennedy to Lansdowne, 8 October 1904, No. 37 Secret, PRO FO 105/158. As suggested in a subsequent dispatch from Kennedy the distemper of Prince Nicholas directed toward Serbia and King Peter was perhaps due to the exclusion of Montenegro from a possible Serbo-Bulgarian agreement. (Kennedy to Lansdowne, 31 October 1904, No. 41 Conf., PRO FO 103/54). But the design of the Petrovich-Nyegosh house upon the Serbian crown no doubt was the stronger motive.

dangerous for the Karageorgevich dynasty as the political excesses of King Alexander had been for the Obrenoviches. [33] The above cited articles and dispatches depicting King Peter as a coward, unable to get rid of his entourage consisting of the regicides, were characteristic and contributed to a rather negative image of him in Britain. Even when A. Stead, in 1906, published his character sketch of King Peter as an effort to exonerate him, W. T. Stead felt obliged to remark that the character sketch of King Peter, written by his son, follows the principle of character sketches in *The Review of Reviews* 'which endeavour always to represent a man as he appears to himself at his best, and not as he appears to his enemies at his worst'.[34]

Self-restraint

The May Coup had something disgusting in itself. The murder of a defenceless woman, the mutilation of corpses, the defenestration, the vainglorious pride of the regicides for participating in the heinous act, all this must have been terrifying to the British public. 'We can see no reason to expect good from the revolution in Servia. It was too violent, too bloodthirsty, too contemptuous of those laws, at once of morality and honour, which are acknowledged even by the semi civilised to be necessary restraints',[35] exclaimed *The Spectator*. The details of the May Coup filled columns of the London dailies. These are two examples of how the very murder was described. The first one is from *The Westminster Gazette*:

33 Thesiger to Lansdowne, 14 June 1904, No. 50, PRO FO 105/153.

34 *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 34 (July-December 1906), p. 229.

35 'The Revolution in Servia', *The Spectator*, June 20, 1903, p. 965 a.

> *His Majesty is said to have lived two hours after he was shot; yet a post-mortem examination of the body showed that he had received 'thirty revolver wounds, of which fourteen were mortal'. Moreover, he had received several sabre gashes and his 'spinal column was broken'.*
>
> *The Queen was thrown, 'like Jezebel' into the court below. The body had been hacked with sabres. The King is also stated to have been flung into the garden, and his head was smashed in the fall.*[36]

Bourchier's description in *The Times* was equally terrifying:

> *The King and Queen sought refuge in a small dressing room... The bodies of both were pierced by innumerable thrusts of bayonets and sabres. It appears that between 30 and 50 officers entered the palace, and that each delivered at least one blow.*[37]

De Windt was even told by a correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse* that the next morning after the murder, he saw the room where the royal couple had been murdered, and it was a shambles.[38]

Approval of the regicide equally conflicted with the British sense of self-restraint. *The Spectator* formulated it very clearly: 'The murderers, therefore, may be considered to have been pardoned by the King, applauded by the people, and blessed by the Church, a "harmonious agreement of voices" which has

36 *The Westminster Gazette*, June 13, 1903, p. 2 b.

37 *The Times*, June 15, 1903, p. 7 a.

38 Harry De Windt, *Through Savage Europe*, p. 156.

hardly been seen in Europe since the massacre of St. Bartholomew'.[39]

Sense of Duty

The sense of duty in the case of Serbia basically referred to two dilemmas. First, what was to be done with diplomatic relations, and second, what was to be done with Serbia, ruled by assassins? The leading dailies had opposing attitudes on what was to be done with regard to diplomatic relations. *The Times* concluded that the best and the most effective measure of the Powers 'would appear to be to withdraw their diplomatic missions from Belgrade until Servia has a Government which is prepared to profess some regard for public morality and to give some guarantee that she will not outrage it in the future. As a country which is honourably respected by the Balkan peoples, and it is at the same time politically less interested than the others, Great Britain might well take the lead in this matter'. *The Westminster* had the opposite opinion: 'Belgrade is said to wear a "festive aspect"; but however horrible it may be for us that Queen Draga should be butchered to make a Servian holiday, we do not see that we can, or that we are called upon to, do anything'. Commenting on the proposal of *The Times*, *The Westminster* in its 'Notes of the day' concluded: 'But it seems impossible to take a guarantee against a bloody revolution, and if we did we should have to punish the revolutionaries'.[40] *The Spectator* doubted that any measures to punish the assassins would be undertaken, although it would have approved them: 'A cry has gone up from all Europe that the murderers should be

39 *The Spectator*, June 20, 1903, p. 961 b.

40 *The Westminster Gazette*, June 13, 1903, p. 3 b.

punished, if not the plotters; but who is to punish them? The Great Powers have refused to intervene effectually without suspending their mutual jealousies, and, besides, they are afraid of a precedent which might bind them to interfere if a revolution occurred in a State capable of self-defence'.[41]

The decision to break diplomatic relations with Serbia gave W. T. Stead another opportunity to moralise. In his opinion: 'The withdrawal of Sir G. Bonham from Belgrade will have no practical consequences. It is merely England's way of saying "Damn!" – in diplomatic accents. It is a relief to the feelings; but if Government take to swearing in this fashion where is the thing to stop?' He observed critically: 'No doubt the conspirators went too far, and spared neither man nor woman in their rage; but, after all, the butchery of Belgrade is not for a moment to be compared to the butchery of the Armenians in Constantinople. Yet Sir Nicholas O'Conor[42] was not withdrawn from the Bosphorus'.[43]

As regards direct intervention of Austria-Hungary, Bourchier, in a letter to the Managing Director of *The Times,* remarked that the Serbians were still 'vastly pleased with themselves' over the regicide, and suggested that 'an Austrian occupation would be the best cure for Servia if it would not lead to a Russian occupation of Bulgaria'.[44] Herbert Vivian also hypothesised: 'If I were Foreign Minister, I would counsel an occupation of Servia by the Powers, perhaps even partition'.[45]

41 *The Spectator*, June 20, 1903, p. 965 b ('The revolution in Servia').

42 Nicholas O'Conor, British Ambassador in Constantinople (1898–1908).

43 *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 28 (July, 1903), p. 5.

44 Quoted in Radovich, *Aftermath,* p. 32–33 (Bourchier Papers, Bourchier to Moberly Bell, 22 June 1903, Archives of *The Times*).

45 Herbert Vivian, 'A Glorious Revolution in Servia', *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 75 (July-December 1903), p. 75.

God-fearing attitude

This attitude basically meant that in the perception of other peoples it was very important what their relation to God was and how pious they were. Therefore the behaviour of Metropolitan Inocentius, the head of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the Kingdom of Serbia, was especially irritating to the British public. On 16 June, 1903, five days after the regicide, he served a *Te Deum* in Belgrade Cathedral. The ceremony was intended to mark the election of the new King. Instead, as H. Vivian phrased it: 'the speech of the Metropolitan seemed almost to imply that the blessing of the Church was also being conferred upon the drunken criminals, who had slain a defenceless King and Queen, and were now gloating over their iniquity'.[46] For *The Spectator* the death of Queen Draga was a foul murder 'and to sing a *Te Deum* over it a disgusting exhibition at once of callousness and superstition'.[47] For W. T. Stead the Metropolitan's flexibility proclaimed him 'a veritable Vicar of Bray of the Balkans'. However, Stead also noted: 'It all seems very ghastly to us, almost as ghastly as our junketings and Cathedral services during the recent war seemed to all outsiders. But blood seems to drug the consciousness of the peoples, and to render them incapable of seeing their own conduct as others see it'.[48] The Archbishop of Belgrade was even dedicated a poem in *The Spectator*, by Edward Sydney Tyles:

He raised his reverend hands to Heaven, and blessed
The kneeling murderers with unfaltering tongue;

46 Herbert Vivian, *The Servian Tragedy*, p. 143.

47 *The Spectator*, vol. 19 (June 20, 1903), p. 965 ('The Revolution in Servia').

48 *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 28 (July 1903), p. 4.

The robes of peace he wore, and on his breast
The golden sign of redemption hung.

From those calm skies no sudden lightings broke;
Justice while her righteous doom delayed;
And underneath the cloud of incense smoke
The assassins still knelt, smiling, unafraid.

Yet these were they whose coward arms had wrought
The foulest act that stains our later time;
And reeking from their work they came and sought
Their Primate's benediction on that crime.

For though no flaming scourge their guilt chastise,
And unavenged yon helpless victims bleed;
Though Servia's folk look on with alien eyes,
And some approve, and all condone the deed...[49]

With a cowardly King controlled by the regicides, and with 'the Vicar of Bray' as the head of the Church, Serbia seemed to be a country that could be civilised by a foreign, preferably Austrian, intervention. However, even those who were in favour of this solution were aware that, at that point of time, no such action could be realised. The Britons, it seems, were not unanimous in their sense of duty to Serbia, but they were completely unanimous in their rejection and condemnation of the terrible murder and the celebrations and praise which followed it in Belgrade. Therefore, the break-up of diplomatic relations seemed a sufficient demonstration of British condemnation of the regi-

49 'The Archbishop of Belgrade', *The Spectator*, vol. 90 (June 20, 1903), p. 980; cf. Herbert Vivian, *The Servian Tragedy*, p. 144.

cide. Similar actions were expected from other European countries, but only the Netherlands followed the British example.[50] Serbia, in new circumstances seemed to be an immorally ruled country, perhaps also a country to be pitied, but certainly not a country that even a single Briton was supposed to have any sympathies for.

Every perception includes a set of associations that are activated whenever one perceives the same object. If these associations of Serbia, at the end of the nineteenth century, were ambiguous (the poor man's paradise, courageous people fighting the Turks, semi-European country and court scandals), then after the May Coup they were exclusively negative, and they included the following visions: the bloody throne, the country of *coup d'états*, an oriental country, the rule of *camarilla*, Belgrade – white city of Death.

Obviously apart from the sense of duty, which offered no clear message to the British public regarding Serbia, the other three elements of the Victorian mentality were in direct opposi-

50 The image of Serbia in the Netherlands, after the May Coup, was similar to the one in Britain. In the nineteenth century, as in Britain, the Serbian image was not unfavourable in the Netherlands. 'This favourable course, that took place at the very beginning of the twentieth century was severely challenged by the murder of King Alexander and Queen Draga. This act can be taken as a pretext for the first negative image of Serbia'. Jelica Novaković-Lopušina, *Srbi i jugoistočna Evropa u nizozemskim izvorima do 1918* (Beograd: ReVision, 1999), p. 208. There is at least one book dealing with the May Coup published by a Hollander. In 1909, under the title *Koningsliefde. Het Drama in Servie* (*Royal Love. A Drama in Servia*) a biography of King Alexander written by Catharina Alberdingk Thijm (1848–1908) was published. Dutch periodicals also covered the May Coup. The Municipal Library of Antwerp keeps a collection of bound articles that in the form of feuilleton filled the pages of some Dutch daily or periodical. The collection covers some 800 pages and is entitled *De bloednacht van Belgrado* (*Bloodshed in Belgrade*). Jelica Novaković-Lopušina, *Srbi i jugoistočna Evropa*, pp. 188–192.

tion to the Belgrade regicide and the political order that was established in Serbia. The regicides did not seem to care much about British and generally European reactions. For them the May Coup was a patriotic and glorious deed. Moreover, some of their actions seemed directed to even further irritate the public opinion of European countries.

The Re-orientalisation of Serbia

Some authors have attempted to explain the negative image of Serbia and generally the negative image of the Balkans in Britain and in the West, by using inspiring, but essentially an anti-Western criticism, based on 'orientalist discourse', formulated by 'an Arab Palestinian in the West' as Edward Said once called himself.[51] However, Maria Todorova has been convincingly able to demonstrate her position formulated in the following way: 'My aim is to position myself vis-à-vis the orientalist discourse and elaborate on a seemingly identical, but actually only similar phenomenon, which I call balkanism'.[52] She iden-

51 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), p. 27; Said's theory was implemented to the Balkans in the following works: Milica Bakic-Hayden and Robert Hayden, 'Orientalist Variations on the Theme "Balkans": Symbolic Geography in Recent Yugoslav Cultural Politics', *The Slavic Review*, vol. 51 (Spring 1992), pp. 1–15; Milica Bakic-Hayden, 'Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia', *The Slavic Review*, vol. 54 (Winter 1995), pp. 917–931; Elli Scopetea, 'Оријентализам и Балкан', *Историјски часопис* ['Oriyentalizam i Balkan', *Istoriyski Chasopis*, Belgrade, vol. 38 (1991)]; John B. Allcock follows Said but with well-founded reservations, 'Contcructing "the Balkans"', in: John B. Allcock and Antonia Young, *Black Lambs and Grey Falcons: Women Travellers in the Balkans* (Bradford University Press, 1991), pp. 170–191.

52 Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 11.

tified basic differences of the two discourses. The most important differences are that there is a geographic and historic concreteness of the Balkans against an Orient without 'stable reality' as Said phrased it, and also that the Balkans 'have always evoked the image of a bridge or a crossroad', having thus a transitory status.[53] The period from 1903 to 1906 is peculiarly interesting for it offers some aspects of re-orientalisation, especially in the case of Serbia and Macedonia, although it generally fits into Todorova's categorisation. Therefore it is important to analyse how this re-orientalisation influenced the image of Serbia.

The western notion of the Orient was an idea, or a project. As M. Bakic-Hayden put it 'while geographical boundaries of the "Orient" shifted throughout history, the concept of "Orient" as "other" has remained more or less unchanged'.[54] In geographical terms, this idea fluctuated. The Britons developed, at the beginning of the twentieth century, an East consisting of three parts: the Far East, the Middle East, and the Near East, corresponding basically to Asia east of India, India with some parts of Persia, and the Ottoman Empire. In its largest scope the East stretched from Japan up to the northern most citadels of the Ottoman Empire. From the Treaty of Carlowitz, in 1699, the northern most citadel was Belgrade, perpetuating the division of the Serbs into the Austrian Serbs and the Turkish Serbs, or in a way the Occidental and the Oriental Serbs. In the early nineteenth, century as R. Davison pointed out, 'most Europeans agreed with Kinglake who, reporting on his travels of 1834, found that the East began at Belgrade, where he crossed from Hapsburg into Ottoman domains'.[55] This divide signified more

53 *Ibid*, p. 11–20.

54 Milica Bakic-Hayden, 'Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia', p. 918.

55 Roderic H. Davison, 'Where is the Middle East?', *The Foreign Affairs*, vol. 38, No. 4 (July 1960), p. 666.

than a mere border. In terms of the imaginative visualisation of the other it meant two different civilisations and two different concepts. Being cut by historical events into two parts, which in reality were northern and southern, but which in the imaginative western concept turned into Oriental and Occidental parts, the Serbs of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries represent very interesting case of the imaginative geography of the East. From this point of view the occidentalisation of the Serbs is peculiarly interesting.

The liberation of a specific Balkan country from the Ottoman yoke meant basically its gradual geographic transition from the East into Europe. Actually, after the term Near East (or the Nearer East) was coined it meant transition from the Near(er) East into Europe.[56] It is very important to see where Serbia and the Balkans were placed, around 1900, in terms of this imaginary divide. In October 1829 a Prussian captain, Otto Dubislav von Pirch, after crossing from the border town of Semlin, Austria, to Belgrade, was able to note: 'a frightening boundary separated me from the civilised world by just making a few steps'.[57] At the end of the nineteenth century, the border between the East and the West did not seem to be so sudden, frightening, or even clear. Here it is of enormous help for us to consult the book of David George Hogarth, *The Nearer East*, 'an epoch making geography',[58] as R. Davison called it. Hogarth was a fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford, and the former Director of the British School in Athens. He noticed: 'the Nearer East is a term of current fashion for a region which our grandfathers were

56 The term 'the Near East' seemed to have been coined by 1896, see Davison, 'Where is the Middle East?', p. 666.

57 Quoted in Dimitije Djordjevic, 'Ottoman Heritage Versus Modernization: Symbiosis in Serbia during the Nineteenth Century', *Serbian Studies*, vol. 13 (1999), p. 29.

58 Davison, 'Where is the Middle East?', p. 667.

content to call simply the East. Its area is generally understood to coincide with those classic lands, historically the most interesting on the surface of the globe, which lie about the eastern basin of the Mediterranean Sea; but few probably could say off-hand where should be the limits and why. The landmarks towards the West are somewhat doubtful and apt to be removed'.[59] Kinglake put the borders, half a century earlier at the walls of Belgrade, but they changed. Hogarth now placed the borders more southwards:

> *To-day the western visitor, though conscious that the character of the life about him has undergone some subtle change since his train steamed over the Danube bridge, would not expect to find himself in the 'East' until he should sight the minarets of Adrianople, or, at earliest, the three mastoid hills of Philippopolis. For want of an effective natural division, the north-western limit of the East depends largely on political conditions. Where centres of the superior civilisation of the West lie so near at hand as to exercise an intrusive influence in any case, occupation by a Power, which does not derive its origin from the East, quickly decides in favour of the West...*
>
> *At the end of this century, therefore, when the Austrian occupation of Herzegóvina, Bosnia, and the sanjak of Novi-Bazar, and the creation of independent Servia and Rumania, and an all but independent Bulgaria, exposed to the predominant influence of the Central Europe, have won the basin of the Lower Danube for the West we must set the north-western limit of our 'Nearer East' at the Balkan water parting; but somewhat arbitrarily and without begging the question that there East and West are*

59 Hogarth, *The Nearer East*, p. 1.

divided in any very obvious manner, or will long continue to be divided even as obviously as now.[60]

Hogarth's maps that are presented here demonstrate clearly which regions of the Balkans and which ethnic groups were considered to belong to the Nearer East, at around 1900. His Nearer East included the following Balkan lands: Albania, southern Serbia and southern Bulgaria, Macedonia and Greece.[61] The Nearer East also included British administered Egypt, all the Ottoman lands of Asia with the entire Arabian Peninsula, and two thirds of Iran. In ethnic terms the Balkan part of the Nearer East included Slavonic populations of Macedonia and southern Bulgaria, the Hellenes and the Osmanlis. As Davison pointed out, speaking of this Hogart's delineation: 'Not everyone agreed with those exact limits for the Near East, but with its approximate scope there was little quarrel'.[62]

Hogarth's categorisation placed the Kingdoms of Serbia and Romania, The Principality of Bulgaria (or, at least, its major part) and Austro-Hungarian administered Bosnia and Herzegovina into Europe. The Serbian case analysed in the first chapter, demonstrates clearly this steady occidentalisation of the northern Balkans, which is so manifest in Hogarth's book. Another prominent actor in the creation of the image of the Balkans, Noel Buxton, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Balkan Committee, also expressed the cultural and geographic

60 *Ibid*, pp. 1–2.

61 Davison thought that Hogarth also included Montenegro in his Nearer East (Davison, 'Where is the Middle East?', p. 667). From the enclosed map it does not seem so, but he nowhere explicitly mentions Montenegro in his book. Besides it seems that he considered the term Albania to include what today would be called Albania, as well as Kosovo, some parts of southern Serbia, western Macedonia, eastern Montenegro, and northern Greece (Hogarth, *The Nearer East*, see map on page 119).

62 R. Davison, 'Where is the Middle East?', p. 667.

ILLUSTRATION 30
Territorial scope of the Nearer East as Hogarth defined it

ILLUSTRATION 31

Ethnic composition of the Balkan part of the Nearer East and of Asia Minor

ambiguity of the Balkans: 'The maps of the school-room teach us to include the Balkan Peninsula in Europe, but, once across the Danubian plains, the traveller will not be long before he discovers himself to be in the East'.[63] Yet, he was more cautious in categorising the Balkan Christian States since: 'the free states of the Balkans combine charms of East and West'.[64] Buxton was also very explicit in what this dichotomy between the East and the West meant for him. Speaking about the history of the Near East, he concluded: 'We are on the field of the great battle between East and West – between barbarism and civilization'.[65]

The transitory character of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire was even more pronounced. Being Christians they belonged to Europe, but being Ottoman subjects they belonged to the East. This mostly affected the image of the Macedonian Christians, who were completely regarded as Orientals. If in the case of the Balkan Christian states oriental references appeared to be fewer and fewer with the span of time, in the case of the Christians of Macedonia, their oriental perception was not challenged. However, disturbing events in the Balkans, like assassinations in Bulgaria and Serbia, were able to reverse this process, even in the case of the Balkan Christian States. Consequently, the occidentalisation of the perception of the Balkan Christians was sometimes disturbed and challenged by the Oriental reverses, which I call re-orientalisation.

Here I owe an explanation of the two notions I have introduced: occidentalisation and (re-)orientalisation. By occidantalisation I mean a shift in the Western perception of some specific area that was previously considered to be part of the Orient. This shift transforms the perception of something that

63 Noel Buxton, *Europe and the Turks* (London: John Murray, 1907).

64 *Ibid*, p. 2.

65 *Ibid*, p. 19.

used to belong to 'otherness' into an ambiguous category which I call the 'inferior self'. Seldom it is even transformed into the clear category of the 'self'. On the other hand, re-orientalisation reverses this process, bringing an already more or less occidentalised area back into the domain of the Orient. In Serbia's case this happened most clearly immediately after the May Coup.

Here I would like to clarify the term that I have introduced – 'inferior self'. It seems to me that in terms of categorisation of a perceived object, the simple dichotomy between the self and the other does not appear to be sufficient enough in the case of the Balkans. M. Todorova pointed out in an interview this ambiguity in the Western perception of the Balkans: 'It is an externalization from within. They are part of the European world and of the Western world but somehow they are considered to be the "bad" side of oneself. This is the interesting nuance that I found of how the Balkans are being thought of in Europe and the US: that is not a complete "other" but an incomplete, dark side of the "self"'.[66] In case of the categorisation of emerging Balkan Christian states I find that the term 'inferior self' would be most appropriate. Although technically accepted into the family of European states, the Balkan Christian states are not considered full members. Paton's title 'Servia, the youngest member of the European family' demonstrates this inferiority. Serbia was a part of the family, but its inferior part. Hierarchically speaking, it was in the same position as children are within family. James Bourchier, speaking about the Christian Balkan

66 Interview taken from the Internet: http://www.clas.ufl.edu/CLASnotes/9610/Todorova.html; Todorova commented on this categorisation in another of her texts: 'The in-betweenness of the Balkans, their transitionary character, could have made them simply an incomplete other; instead they are constructed as an incomplete self. The reasons for this are two: religion and race'. Maria Todorova, 'Image de l'autre', *Association Internationale d'Etudes du Sud-Est Européen Bulletin* (Bucarest), vol. 28–29 (1998–1999), p. 189.

states possessing 'the young turbulent democracies', concluded: 'They must still remain under the tutelage of Europe. Let us hope that Europe will awake to her responsibilities towards these wayward children; her part should be that of the kind parent, not of Saturn who devoured his own offspring'.[67] Noel Buxton phrased this similarly: 'These nations – Bulgaria, Servia, and Roumania – once in the front of civilisation, long enslaved and now set free, play with their new Constitutions like children with a toy, and with a similar result – the toy gets broken'.[68]

The Times Balkan Correspondent played a significant role in the re-orientalisation of Serbia after the May Coup, and his patterns were typical. James Bourchier had a peculiar idea of the Balkan 'orientalism'. In his off-repeated sentence he declares: 'nothing succeeds like success, especially in the East'. His poetics of the Orient depicted it as a place where many not quite logical things were possible. So, when speaking about a pro-Karageorgevich revolt from the previous year, he said he was assured at that time 'that the "pretender" had not a single partisan in the country except a few persons connected with his family. 'To-day the same statement is made with regard to the fallen dynasty, and is in all probability equally true...'[69] At the end of 1903, he concluded: 'In the East nothing succeeds like success, and there is seldom a discordant note in the universal chorus of Vae victis. But it needed no profound acquaintance with the Oriental character – for Servia, if the most westerly of the Balkan States, is also the most Oriental ...'[70] Bourchier, with his sympathies for

67 James D. Bourchier, 'The Balkan States – Their Attitude Towards the Macedonian Question', pp. 88–89.

68 Noel Buxton, *Europe and the Turks* (London: John Murray, 1907), p. 2.

69 *The Times,* June 18, 1903, p. 5 c ('The New King of Servia).

70 *The Times,* December 23, 1903, p. 6 a ('The Situation in Servia').

the Christians in the Balkans, was naturally even keener to place the Turks into the Orient. In an article mentioning Turkish oriental character, Bourchier explained what he meant by Oriental peoples: 'A nomad Asiatic race, the Turks display the same incapacity for change and progress, the same indolence and conservatism, the same repugnance to the spirit of modern Europe, which characterises all Oriental peoples, with the brilliant exception of Japan'.[71] In this strong attachment of Serbia to the Orient, one motif that was persistently repeated in the British press can demonstrate the scope of orientalisation of Serbia. Immediately after the May Coup, it was the motif of defenestration.

Motif of Defenestration

> *And when Jehu was come to Jezreel, Jezabel heard of it; and she painted her face, and tired her head, and looked out at a window... And he lifted up his face to the window, and said, 'Who is on my side? who? ' And there looked out to him two or three eunuchs. And he said, 'Throw her down'. So they threw her down: and some of her blood was sprinkled on the wall, and on the horses: and he trode her under foot. And when he was come in, he did it and drink, and said, 'Go, see now this cursed women, and bury her: for she is a King's daughter'. (II Kings, 9)*[72]

71 James D. Bourchier, 'The Balkan States – Their Attitude Towards the Macedonian Question', pp. 45–46.

72 *Authorised Version of the Holy Bible*.

The Defenestration of Belgrade produced quite a strong impression in Britain, and historical parallels were immediately drawn. *The Westminster Gazette* reported, following Bourchier's report, that the Queen 'was thrown, "like Jezebel" into the court below', and her body 'had been hacked with sabres'.[73] *The Spectator* immediately referred to the same historical event: 'As it was in Jezreel three thousand years ago, so it was at Belgrade on Thursday. Thus almost exactly does the history of palace coups d'état repeat itself among Eastern peoples'.[74] In the next issue, speaking about the royal bodies that were hurled from a window in Belgrade, *The Spectator* repeated that there had not been 'such a scene in history since Jehu ordered the decent burial of Jezabel, not in pity or shame, but because she whom his followers had just murdered was of Royal descent'.[75] Herbert Vivian perhaps referred to the same when he said that the news of a crime was so 'abominable' that 'we must go back almost two thousand years to find its parallel'.[76] Even W. T. Stead referred to it. After the regicides had found the royal lovers they 'riddled them with bullets, slashed them with sabres, and flung them out of the window into the park, in strict accordance with the precedence of Jezabel'. Stead believed that even after such mutilation 'they lived for two hours after they fell', but 'no

73 *The Westminster Gazette*, June 13, 1903, p. 7 a ('Details on the Massacre'); cf. *The Times, June* 13, 1903, p. 7 a ('The Servian Tragedy. Burial of the King and Queen').

74 *The Spectator*, vol. 90 (June 13, 1903), p. 922.

75 *The Spectator*, vol. 90 (June 29, 1903), p. 965.

76 *The Westminster Gazette*, June 12, 1903, p. 1 c (Herbert Vivian, 'The Servian Massacre I.-In Praise of the King and Queen'). Actually the defenestration of Jezebel happened *c.* 843 B.C., almost three thousand years before the Belgrade defenestration. (see: *The Encyclopaedia Britannica CD*, Multimedia Disc, 1998, s.v. 'Jezebel').

scavenger dogs, as in the case of the queen of Ahab, came to remove the royal carrion'.[77]

However, it was not in the British press, but rather in *The New York Times* that the theme of the Defenestration of Belgrade reached its climax. An editorial, entitled 'Out of Window' described how different nations killed their victims, with the unavoidable historical parallel with the Defenestration of Prague, in 1618:

> *As the bold Briton knocks his enemy down with his fists, as the Southern Frenchman lays his foe prostrate with a scientific kick of the savate, as the Italian uses his knife and the German the handy beermug, so the Bohemian and Servian 'chucks' his enemy from the window.*

This was explained as part of Slavic nature. Namely, the Slavs were once 'forest-dwelling tribes living in square-built log houses' which usually had a door, a fireplace of some kind, and a chimney or smoke hole. Consequently:

> *On the event of an unpleasantness in the log cabin the stronger party held the door while the weaker was being pounded. The only exit was the smokehole or, in finer habitations, a window. Ages of indulgence in vodki, brandy, and other fire waters with the concomitant excitement of thrusting an opponent through the window or up the smokehole have made the Slav a slave to the window habit.*

After this explanation it was natural to conclude that the Servian officers who killed the King and the Queen were turned 'into wild beasts' because 'the racial inherited instinct came into play, and though the wretched victims of their violence were

77 *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 28 (July 1903), p. 4.

dead, they were not satisfied until they had thrown the bodies from the window'.[78]

It is a historical fact that the leading conspirator, Colonel Mashin, was a Czech by origin. However, defenestration was in no way restricted to the Slavonic peoples. There is also one example of a defenestration committed in the Isles. The eighth Earl of Douglas, suspected of treachery, was defenestrated by James II in 1452, from a 'surprisingly small window'.[79] Yet the Defenestration of Belgrade kept producing quite a strong impression in Britain. Even a dozen years later Sir Thomas Sanderson, who was a Permanent Undersecretary in the Foreign Office when the May Coup took place, commented on an appeal for a beneficence, in a postscript on a letter to Sir Edward Grey, in the following way:

> *Kinnard sends me an appeal, backed by you, on behalf of the Bible Lands Mission for the relief of distress in Servia. I have sent a paltry contribution – but how on earth they make out that Servia is a bible land, except because the Servians threw their late Queen out of (a) window, I can't imagine.*[80]

78 *The New York Times*, June 24, 1903, p. 8 c, d ('Out of Window'); This interesting article was first quoted in Z. A. B. Zeman, 'The Balkans and the Coming War', in R. J. W. Evans and Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann (eds.), *The Coming of the First World War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 21; cf. Milica Bakic-Hayden, 'Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia', *Slavic Review*, vol. 54, No. 4 (Winter 1995), p. 918.

79 Rob Humphreys, Donald Reid and Paul Tarrant, *Scotland: The Rough Guide* (London: The Rough Guides, 2000), p. 248.

80 Quoted in Radovich, *Aftermath*, p. 30 (Grey Papers, Sanderson to Grey, 21 May 1915, PRO FO 800/111). Radovich believes that this Sanderson's postscript might indicate 'what the feelings were of the foreign secretary and of his staff at the Foreign Office in response to the Serbian slayings'. *Ibid*, p. 29.

It is very peculiar that Biblical references were used to designate Serbia negatively. Although Victorian morality was imbued with Christianity and inspired by the Holy Bible, it is obvious from the Serbian example that the Orient at the turn of the century was generally perceived so negatively that it even became a convinient metaphor for the stigmatisation of any form of 'other'. Even a Biblical background could not improve this perception of the Near Orient in Britain.

CONCLUSION

Balkanism and Re-orientalisation

If 'balkanism', as Todorova phrased it, was quite sufficient after the Balkan Wars to designate an area as being backward and bloodthirsty, at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries it was rather re-orientalisation that played the same role. This re-orientalisation of Serbia was simultaneous with the stigmatisation of Macedonia. In this way these two simultaneous processes paved the way for a unique and generalised image of the Balkans after the Balkan Wars and the First World War. Once the Ottoman Empire had almost been expelled from Europe, it appeared no longer to be convenient to re-orientalise the Balkanites. Thus, a new phrase 'balkanisation' was coined. The road to 'balkanisation' was paved by bloody interethnic strife in Macedonia and the bloody assassination in Belgrade. When the Balkan Wars took place, followed by peculiar atrocities, there could be only one image as a result. It was the image of the bloodthirsty and trouble-making Balkans. If Herbert Vivian and Edith Durham can be designated as being among prominent actors of the 'balkanisation' of the Near East, then it is interesting to note that the starting point for both was the May Coup. It was the May Coup that in their opinion brought the regicides and the murderers to power in Serbia starting the reign of terror. For them there was not the slightest doubt that

there was clear continuity between the Belgrade murderers of 1903 and the Sarajevo murderers of 1914.

Speaking about the image of Serbia in Britain, in connection with the Sarajevo Assassination, D. C. Watt noticed that there was 'intense dislike felt for the Serbian Monarchy and system, a dislike shared by all but a small handful... The Serbs were regarded as "orientals," a term which then carried overtones of derogation and contempt'.[1] *John Bull* even issued a poster, in August 1914, bearing the headline: 'To hell with Serbia!'[2] However, this image could not prevail for long in Britain. As a consequence of the alliance of Serbia with the Entente powers, the former found powerful and influential Britons defending her cause. Among the defenders of Serbia, during the Great War, were such influential names as Henry Wickham Steed, Sir Arthur Evans, Sir Charles William Chadwick Oman, George Macaulay Trevelyan, Harold Temperley and Robert William Seton-Watson.[3] So, paradoxically, judging by Todorova's book Vivian and especially Durham[4] had more influence on the image of the Balkans than, according to my research, they had on the image of Serbia after the Great War. Yet, in Britain, some references appeared now and then to the May Coup even after the Second World War. Oxford Professor Z. A. B. Zeman, for instance, pointed out: 'The turning-point in the relations between Austria and Serbia was not so much the annexation of Bosnia-Hercegovina in 1908, as the brutal military coup in Belgrade five years

1 D. C. Watt, 'The British Reaction to the Assassination at Sarajevo', *European Studies Review*, vol. 1 (July 1971), p. 237.

2 Lena A. Yovitchitch, *The Biography*, p. 302.

3 See Ubavka Ostojić Fejić, 'Akcije za pomoć Srbiji u Velikoj Britaniji tokom prvog svetskog rata', in *Yugoslav-British Relations* (Belgrade, 1988), pp. 191–202.

4 Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, pp. 120–121.

earlier...'[5] Clearly referring to the May Coup, Adrian Hastings summarised Serbia at the beginning of the twentieth century as follows: 'Poor as it was economically and educationally, *addicted as it was to assassinating its rulers*, (my italics) absurd and dangerous as its ambitions could appear to both Austrians and Turks, its character of nation-state, dominated indeed by an intensely single-minded nationalism seems absolutely clear'.[6]

Western Perceptions Between 'Construction' and 'Reconstruction'

I would like to clarify my position concerning the constructivist approach that entered historical monographs dealing with Western perception after the publication of Said's book on Orientalism. If some social constructivists 'argue for some extreme but interesting positions, including the notion that there is no such thing as a knowable objective reality', and they rather maintain that 'all knowledge is derived from the mental constructions of the members of a social system',[7] then I, as a historian, feel obliged to explain my positions regarding this approach. One can agree with Said when stating: 'The construction of identity – for identity whether of Orient or Occident, France or Britain, while obviously a repository of distinct collective experiences, is finally a construction – involves establishing opposites and "others" whose actuality is always subject to

5 Z. A. B. Zeman, 'The Balkans and the Coming War', p. 27.

6 Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood. Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), p. 135.

7 Arthur S. Reber, *The Penguin Dictionary of Psychology* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), p. 157, s. v. 'constructivism'.

the continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of their differences from "us"'.[8] However, in order to analyse processes of the construction of reality, a historian needs first to accept that there is a knowable reality, and second to conduct research in order to reconstruct the past. Naturally, in reconstructing the past, a historian will unavoidably make some new false constructs. But, without reconstruction one cannot know what is false and what corresponds to historical reality. Said thoroughly criticised Western (British, French and American) perceptions of the 'Orient', especially of the Moslem world, yet in his recent afterward he admits that his book has been read in the Arab world 'as a systematic defence of Islam and the Arabs, even though I say explicitly that I have no interest in it, much less capacity for, showing what the true Orient or Islam really are'.[9] Yet, if one does not know what something is really like then how can he or she argue about the correctness in the perception of the same thing?

British perceptions of the Balkans are not restricted to travellers and writers only. They also include observations made by diplomats, and various scientists (historians, geographers, archaeologists). Western travellers and writers were certainly constructing and inventing the Balkans, throughout the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, as some recent scholarly titles imply.[10] Each Balkan area, religious and ethnic group was subject to this process. But this is not the whole story. They also accumulated knowledge of the area. If they were constructing they were also reconstructing, if they were inventing they were

8 Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 332.

9 *Ibid*, p. 331.

10 Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania. The Imperialism of the Imagination*; Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*.

also describing the Balkans, often in a very realistic way. This was especially the case when speaking about the observations of scientists and to a certain extent of diplomats as well. When Hogarth wrote his book *The Nearer East*, in 1902, he was able to discuss its area and position, its structure, climate and physical circumstance; its distribution of men, grouping, products, communications and even speculate on 'how this Region will fill in the economy of the greater World ?'

If this knowledge was used for imperial purposes, it in no way can negate the fact that sometimes it was knowledge of essentially a scientific kind. Paradoxically British imperial use, or misuse as you like, of the knowledge of the Balkans or the East, testifies more than anything else that it was a real knowledge, based on the rational enquiry of reality. If writers were allowed to imagine and travellers to construct reality, then military men were obliged to have exact knowledge of it. When the First World War started teams of historians and geographers that were employed by the British army to supply it with first hand knowledge of the Balkans, confirmed that Britons interested in the region had diligently accumulated knowledge that was now to be used for military purposes. The precision and accuracy that such purposes demand can clearly tell us that a great job in describing and reconstructing had already been done by British geographers and historians by then. Similarly, when the same Hogarth wrote the history of the Hittites he did not do so in order to construct the history of this people according to some British imperialistic criteria, or at least this was not his primary object. He rather endeavoured to reconstruct the past of an Asian (Near Eastern) people. It was a knowledge that only the Western world with its tradition of learned institutions and rational inquiry was able to conduct at that point of time.

The enormous Western (Euro-Atlantic) scientific and technological advantage over the rest of the world at the beginning of the twentieth century, or even at the end of the same century, is a fact. One can like or dislike it, but to deconstruct the whole Western perception of the Orient, and to claim that it was completely false, as Said did, gives advantage to political arguments over historical facts. The same is the case when the Orientalist discourse is applied to the Balkans. The successive articles analysed from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, perhaps more than anything else, testify to the fact that the British knowledge of Serbia and the Balkans was accumulating throughout the nineteenth century. Similarly, both occidentalisation and Oriental references of the image were often based on real developments. As D. Djordjevic points out, speaking about the Serbian Ottoman heritage: 'In Serbia abandoning the old civilization and espousing the new one required the entire nineteenth century'.[11]

Therefore it seems that the job of a historian, when dealing with the image of the other, is not only to describe what the perceptions of some region or group were, but to confront this with the knowledge that historians have accumulated about the same region or group. In this encounter one will find that a perception is not only a set of false constructs but also sometimes a very good source of facts, otherwise unavailable. This is not to say that the perception of the other does not include false constructs. On the contrary, this thesis largely deals with such constructs. However, this is to say that the perception of the other cannot be reduced to constructs, if one implies by constructs only something false and stereotypical. Or to put this another way as Wendy Bracewell recently did: 'It has been shown that the

11 Dimitrije Djordjevic, 'Ottoman Heritage Versus Modernization: Symbiosis in Serbia during the Nineteenth Century', p. 29.

cleanliness of the inhabitants in South-Eastern Europe was a question subject to manipulative generalization by Westerners in the nineteenth century. Yet however ideologically-motivated or influential such descriptions may have been, they do not render the problem at hand – what was hygiene and sanitation like in 19th century South-Eastern Europe?'[12]

Serbia between 'Otherness' and 'Inferior Self'

As one can see from the first chapter, British travellers in the nineteenth century used to compare the Serbs with the Scots and Irishmen. Scottish minstrels and Serbian national poetry, Scottish and Serbian highlanders and finally the rebellious spirit of both the Irishmen and the Serbs inspired Britons to make such analogies. Admiration that both the Irishmen and the Serbs (in both Serbia and Montenegro) felt for Gladstone may have been one source of such parallels later in the nineteenth century. In psychological terms, these analogies meant that the Serbs of Serbia, soon after their country gained self-rule, were placed in the category of the 'inferior self.'

It is because of this categorisation that the Serbs were compared with the Scots and Irishmen. These two peoples in English perception belonged to an ambiguous category. Being Britons they were undoubtedly perceived as self, but it was also a kind of inferior self since they were not English at the same time. This was especially pronounced in the Irish case. The cultural characterisation into a kind of the self was followed by

12 Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis, 'South-Eastern Europe: History, Concepts, Boundaries', *Balcanologie*, vol. 3, No. 2 (December 1999), p. 60.

the geographic categorisation of Serbia in Europe which appeared in 1840s in Paton's and Urquhart's works. The steady occidentalisation of Serbia that began in 1840s was never completed in the nineteenth century.

On the other hand, the re-orientalisation of the perception of Serbia was sudden and rapid which corresponded to the suddenness of the May Coup. It was only initiated by the scandals at the court in Belgrade, during the reign of the last two Obrenoviches. But, it was the May Coup that really paved the way for the re-orientalisation of Serbia in Britain. The re-orientalisation in describing Serbia placed her in the category of 'otherness', beyond the pale of civilisation and progress. Serbia was back to 'oriental barbarism'. The re-establishment of diplomatic relations automatically initiated re-occidentalisation. The first to endeavour this was Alfred Stead. In his already quoted character sketch of King Peter he remarked that 'the Servian people, like the Swiss, whom they much resemble in many ways, owning their own pieces of land, and being of independent character, have clung to their national ideals'.[13] In a later article he compared the two countries: 'Like Switzerland, Servia has no outlet to the sea and like the Swiss, the Servians have struggled and fought unaided for freedom and liberty; these struggles have in both cases broadened and developed the national character, and created a national force of great strength and remarkable cohesion'.[14] Again Serbia was placed into the category of inferior, but European, self. The edition of *The Times, The Historians' History of the World*, offered even clearer case of re-occidentalisation. It stated that concerning education in Serbia 'a very

13 Alfred Stead, 'Character Sketches. King Peter of Servia', *The Review of Reviews*, vol. 34 (September 1906), p. 247.

14 A. Stead, 'The Situation in the Near East', *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 81 (1907), p. 704.

great progress is being achieved in this direction; it may be said that this progress has been rapid since the period, not so long ago (1839), when the sovereign himself confessed to not being able to write'. The Serbians had ambition 'to cause the disappearance from their country of anything which could recall the old Moslem domination'. They apply themselves to this task with 'persevering energy', and Belgrade '"the Turkish" has ceased to exist'. It was replaced by a 'more occidental city like Vienna or Budapest'. Even regarding its spirit 'Servia is more and more breaking away from Turkish fatalism'. The conclusion logically followed: 'Only a short time ago it was a people of the Orient; from now on it belongs to the Western world, by labour and initiative'.[15]

It is important to note that re-orientalisation, and especially orientalism, were not the causes of the changed perception of Serbia during the crisis in Anglo-Serbian relations. They were a consequence of the May Coup and its perception in both Britain and Serbia. The Balkans and Serbia were transitory not only in categorisation but in real appearance as well. Therefore it was very easy for foreign observers to emphasise oriental elements of Serbia and place her into the realm of 'other'. What really caused the negative image of Serbia after the May Coup was a direct result of the collision between the British value system and Serbian response to the regicide. Re-orientalisation was a specific kind of British, and more generally European, punishment of Serbia. To place some state into the Orient, and here I agree with Said, meant to challenge its right to have independent development. To be placed in the Orient meant to be perceived as backward and barbarian. Such an entity would need tutelage.

15 Henry Smith Williams (ed.), *The Historians' History of the World*, vol. 24, p. 206.

This reveals why the re-orientalisation of Serbia was very strong in Austria-Hungary.

However, in the British case, political considerations were not very relevant in making a decision to break diplomatic relations. Although the British decision to break diplomatic relations was a clear expression of Victorian mentality, the decision to re-establish diplomatic relations was, on the contrary, a purely political decision, based on British interests. At the time public morality demanded a loud and angry response from British public opinion to the Belgrade regicide in 1903. Three years later political calculations forwarded the calm re-establishment of disrupted relations. If, in 1903, Britain was able to place her morality above political considerations then, in 1906, it was not possible to do so anymore. The ending of traditional British isolationism runs simultaneously with the break-off of relations with Serbia. This meant that Britain could no longer stay aloof from an important Balkan country. The space for moral values was thus reduced, and once again political considerations prevailed.

Serbia, on the other hand, was mostly back to its previous categorisation of 'inferior self'. She was again perceived as an inferior, but still European state. Her esteem, however, was severely challenged and a negative pattern in British perceptions of Serbia, followed by the set of threatening associations, was maintained for almost another decade. Even in the period afterwards this categorisation re-emerged from time to time. Only the alliance of the Kingdom of Serbia with the United Kingdom during the Great War would be able to substantially change this less than favourable pattern.

APPENDIX

Der Floh.] [Vienna.

The Macedonian Wasp-nest.

FERDINAND: "Hi! hi! If only I had been more obedient my nose would never have been stung like this."

ILLUSTRATION 32

Prince Ferdinand characteristically portrayed with exaggerated Bourbon nose stuck into the Macedonian wasp-nest. He is surrounded by toy-soldiers which designates him as a disturber of peace in the Balkans.

Nebeispalter.] [Nov. 1.

DRAGA: "Come. Alexei, if they won't let us in here, it is open over there: we shall get in there at once."

ILLUSTRATION 33

A Swiss comic paper portrays King Alexander who failed to secure a reception for his wife Draga at St. Petersburg, and who consequently considered shifting his policy towards Austria.

Minneapolis Times.] [June 23.

The main features of King Peter's reception at Belgrade are arranged.

ILLUSTRATION 34

Diplomatic reception of King Peter in Belgrade. The American, British and Dutch Ministers with their backs turned to the Serbian King demonstratively showing their total disapproval of the May Coup. The Austro-Hungarian and Russian Ministers are more flexible demanding only the punishment of the assassins.

Philadelphia.]

King Peter's Pleasant Seat.

ILLUSTRATION 35

King Peter's throne seen as based on Russia and the Serbian army.

Der Floh.] [Vienna.

The Plucked Sultan and the Powers.

SULTAN (sadly): "They have had all the other feathers, and they look as if they mean to have this one also."

ILLUSTRATION 36

The plucked Sultan with the only remaining province of his in Europe, Macedonia. Two Powers (the Russian Tsar and the Austro-Hungarian Emperor) and the four Christian Balkan Monarchs are looking forward to taking over the Sultan's last possession in Europe.

Between Russia and the Deep Sea.

ILLUSTRATION 37
The Sultan Abdulhamid II cornered
by two dangers: the Russian bear and the
Macedonian rebels represented in the form of the sea.

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30. David George Hogarth, *The Nearer East*, p, iv.
31. David George Hogarth, *The Nearer East*, p. 172.
32. *The Review of Reviews*. vol. 27 (1903), p. xiv.
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